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THE RISE AND FALL
OF THE
KU KLUX KLAN IN SASKATCHEWAN

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in History

Division of Social Sciences
University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus

by

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PREFACE

The average person has difficulty in dissociating the Ku Klux Klan from the United States of America; the thought of it in a Canadian context appears to be somewhat incongruous with the Canadian stereotype. Yet the Klan did flourish, although briefly, in Canada. Here, as in the United States, the hooded fraternity was able to find and to feed upon racial prejudice and religious bigotry of long standing. It was, for example, the conflicts between the English and French and the Protestants and Catholics which above all else, ground to a halt the functioning of representative government in the Canadas, necessitating negotiations which led to Confederation.¹ After Confederation, the same bitter racial and religious sentiment raised its head periodically: in the campaign of the New Brunswick Liberal party in 1870, under George King, for non-sectarian schools, which culminated in the Free School Act being passed by the New Brunswick legislature in 1871; in the organization of the ultramontane Programme Catholique in Quebec in the 1870's; in the formation of a Protestant

¹H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church In Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 228.

Defence Association in opposition to the latter in Montreal, which received moral support from Sir Alexander Galt; in the establishment of an Equal Rights Association in Ontario in opposition to Archbishop Lynch's Catholic League, which spread its influence throughout Canada under the eloquence of D'Alton McCarthy, allying with the Orange Lodge in clamouring for the execution of Louis Riel, with Thomas Greenway in the campaign to abolish the separate schools in Manitoba, in the late 1880's, and with ultra-Protestant groups in Ontario in the agitation which led to the legislative enactment of Regulation 17 in 1911.¹

As in Canada at large, the province of Saskatchewan had not been free of racial and religious controversy. The Ku Klux Klan, in one sense, was alien to Saskatchewan in that it had never appeared there before; in another sense, it was indigenous to the province as it was nurtured on sentiments and prejudices which had been latent in Saskatchewan society for years. From its inception in 1905, the province of Saskatchewan had to face the problems inherent in a heterogeneous society, one of which was the friction between the Anglo-Saxon and other segments of the population. Out of this situation, problems arose which became chronic political issues.

One such issue was the teaching of languages other

¹Ibid., pp. 231-238.

than English in the public schools. The determination of the French to preserve their language probably was the greatest bone of contention between them and the other racial groups, particularly the British segment of the population. Until 1918, the official education policy with regard to the use of the French language in the schools of Saskatchewan was that all schools had to be taught in the English language. However, it was "permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language."¹ In 1918 this was modified to read: "Except as hereinafter provided, English shall be the sole language of instruction in all schools, and no language other than English shall be taught during school hours." The provision made for the French-speaking pupils was that "French may be used as the language of instruction, but such use of French shall not be continued beyond the first year of such child's attendance at school."² Since the optional course in the French language prior to 1918 often extended for as long as four or five years, the modification restricting the use of French in school to the pupil's first year caused much friction.

An example of the friction and bitterness arising out of the language issue may be seen in the Saskatchewan

¹Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1915, p. 492.

²Ibid., 1918, p. 311.

Election of 1917. In the campaign preceding this election the Kitchener Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 2671, Prince Albert, sent questionnaires to the local Conservative and Liberal candidates. Three of the six questions were as follows:

Are you prepared to resist any special privileges being granted to any section of the population of Saskatchewan either on account of race or religion?

Are you opposed to all Bi-lingual teachings in the schools of the Province and in favor of placing the French language on the same footing as other foreign languages?

Are you in favor of a law providing that all School Trustees must be able to read and write in the English language?

On the front of the questionnaire, in bold print, the Lodge made its stand clear: "ONE SCHOOL, ONE LANGUAGE, ONE FLAG".¹

It was obvious from the earliest settlement of the French in Saskatchewan that their culture would not be founded upon racial uniqueness alone, but upon the twin pillars of the French race and the Roman Catholic religion. Just as the struggle for the survival of their culture demanded the use of their mother tongue in educating their children, likewise it demanded the practice of their religion in school. This led to yet another political grievance between the two opposing cultures in Saskatchewan: the charge of sectarian influence in the public schools of the province.

As far back as 1905, the charge of sectarian influence

¹Private Papers of W. F. A. Turgeon, General Files, 1909-1921.

in the schools was made a political issue. In August of that year, the Provincial Rights Party held a convention and embodied in its platform the declaration that every child should have the opportunity of receiving an education free from sectarian influence.¹ In the provincial election of 1905, F. W. G. Haultain, the leader of the Provincial Rights Party, viewed provincial rights as the main issue of the election campaign. He made it clear that complete control of education should be in the hands of the provincial government.² Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface believed Haultain's views were a threat to the Roman Catholic separate schools, and therefore urged all the faithful in his archdiocese not to vote for the Provincial Rights Party.³ The ultra-Protestants, particularly the Orange Lodge, never forgot or forgave Archbishop Langevin for his interference in the 1905 election; neither did they forget the "sectarian" issue. This issue remained controversial and later became an important part of the Ku Klux Klan campaign in Saskatchewan.

There were two other issues troubling the political waters of Saskatchewan prior to the coming of the Klan.

¹J. Castell Hopkins (editor), The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, (Hereafter cited as C.A.R.), (Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 234.

²Ibid., p. 249.

³Ibid., p. 242.

These were the policy of the federal government regarding immigration and the constitutional issue of Saskatchewan's natural resources. Again, both issues served to foster anti-Catholic sentiment.

At the turn of the century, most Canadians agreed that Canada needed immigrants and concurred with the Government's efforts to meet this need. But within a relatively short period of time, public sentiment had made an about-turn in the face of the great flood of immigrants in the first two decades of the century. In 1901 the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada was 49,149; in 1921 the total was 148,477.¹ Over this twenty-year period, 1901 to 1921, the total was 3,577,311. The figures for the birth-place of the population of Canada for 1921 show the British-born at 7,898,201 and non-British at 890,282; the latter² amounting to one in every ten of the Canadian population. More startling to the people in the four western provinces was the fact that almost half the people in their largest cities were immigrants, and almost one in five spoke a foreign language.³

One political scientist, in retrospect, observed that

¹The Canada Year Book, 1921, p. 126.

²Ibid., 1926. p. 111.

³Ibid.

It is a tragic fact that the differences in standards of living which have characteristically linked immigration to economic and political troubles in Canada are allied with racial differences . . . large inward movements of workers from low-wage countries may initiate labour difficulties which in turn tend to be transmuted into racial tensions and increased racial prejudices.¹

This appears to be an accurate analysis of the situation in Saskatchewan, and the other prairie provinces, in the decade of the 1920's. Although organized labour opposed the Government's immigration policy long before 1920, it was not until this decade that the issue came to a head in Saskatchewan.

An issue with political implications as serious as the immigration question developed out of the natural resources controversy. Even this constitutional issue was interpreted in the light of the religious question. The viewpoint of a large segment of Protestantism was expressed on this problem when the Anglican clergy of the Diocese of North Saskatchewan held a meeting on November 18, 1926, and passed the following resolution:

That whereas the unity and peace of the Dominion of Canada depends upon all the provinces having equality in Confederation, and that the rights of each be recognized to legislate on all matters of a provincial nature; and

Whereas the Dominion Government did exceed the provisions of the B. N. A. Act, and did arrogate to itself the right to withhold and administer the natural resources of Saskatchewan and Alberta in the Act of Autonomy in 1905; and

¹M. F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Nov. 1960. p. 532.

Whereas the Dominion Government did unwarrantably and unlawfully exceed its rights in enacting legislation (at the request of and dictated by the Roman Catholic clergy of Quebec, directed by a Papal legate from Rome in the person of one Sharetti), fastening separate schools on the above named provinces . . . and did illegally withhold the natural resources as a means of coercion; be it

Resolved, that we . . . here assembled, do unequivocally demand that the natural resources of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta be unconditionally consigned to the care and keeping of the respective governments of those provinces. 1

As with the language question, the sectarian issue, and the immigration problem, the clamour for the transfer of the province's natural resources increased in vituperation and verbosity throughout the late 1920's, and the subject became attached in turn to the issues of language, religion and race.

In the light of this background, it was not surprising that the Klan gained a foothold in Saskatchewan in 1927; what was surprising, however, was the degree of success the order attained in the province in subsequent years. It is proposed in this thesis not only to describe the initial response to the Klan but to examine the extent of its success in the social, religious and political aspects of Saskatchewan life, and to suggest what might have been the underlying reasons.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness

¹The Sentinel, Dec. 2, 1926, p. 2.

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THE RISE AND FALL
OF THE
KU KLUX KLAN IN SASKATCHEWAN

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE KLAN IN CANADA

1

In the turbulent years following the first world war, the hooded fraternity of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan attempted to extend its "invisible empire" into Canada. It was not the same Klan which arose in Reconstruction days following the American civil war, but if the body was not continuous, the spirit was the same.

However colorful and notorious the Klan became, the original Klan did not have an ostentatious beginning; rather an accidental one. The advent of the Ku Klux Klan began most inconspicuously in the small town of Pulaski, Tennessee, near the Alabama line in May, 1866.¹ A group of young men, frustrated and bored with inactivity in the aftermath of war, met in a law office and decided to organize a club. The idea was received with enthusiasm and soon they were trying to find an appropriate name for their new organization. "Kukloi", the plural of Kuklos, the Greek word for circle,

¹J. M. Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1963), p. 62. David Chalmers, in Hooded Americanism (New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1965), p. 8, sets the date at December, 1865.

was suggested and at once someone chimed in "Ku Klux." This was immediately adopted and to complete the alliteration¹ "Klan" was added.

But circumstances conspired to transform this harmless club, established for fellowship and pleasure, into a hooded terror, designed "to protect 'white civilization' from a coalition of liberated Negroes and northern 'carpet-baggers.'"² To many Southerners, the Ku Klux Klan became the saviour of the South in the time of its weakness, when it was about to be ravaged by "scalawags, carpetbaggers, drunken union soldiers, and unprincipled freedmen."³ But to many more Southerners and Northerners, the Klan was nothing more than a means of expressing racial hatred under cover of the anonymity of a white hood -- an organization that did not hesitate to intimidate, tar and feather, and lynch, the defenceless Negro.

Locals of the order began to spring up throughout Tennessee, and in April, 1867, a convention of local representatives met in Nashville. At this meeting a constitution was drafted and General Nathan Bedford Forrest, formerly an officer in the Confederate army, was elected to the office

¹Ibid.

²R. L. Roy, Apostles of Discord (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), p. 120.

³K. T. Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan In The City 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 3.

of Grand Wizard. The Empire of the Grand Wizard was divided into realms, dominions, provinces, and dens, headed by Grand Dragons, Titans, Giants, and Cyclopes, and composed of Ghouls.¹

J. M. Mecklin suggests that one reason for the rapid spread of the Klan was the fact that it "tapped the old stream of Nativist traditions."² In this regard it built on the foundation laid by "Know-Nothingism." Originating in New York State in 1852, Know-Nothingism thrived on the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant feelings of the populace and experienced remarkable success. It was a secret society that bound its members to answer any question regarding the organization with the reply, "I don't know." Hence the sobriquet, the "Know Nothings." The Know-Nothing party owed much of its success to the fact that it provided a means of political expression for "this native Protestantism disgruntled and alarmed by the spread of Catholicism."³ After the Civil War, the sentiments that fed Know-Nothingism gave rise to the Ku Klux Klan. Both organizations had three characteristics in common: secrecy and anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiments. It must be pointed out, however, that anti-

¹David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1965), p. 9.

²Mecklin, p. 132.

³Ibid., pp. 132-135.

Catholicism and anti-immigrant feelings did not become prominent in the Klan until the twentieth century -- at its inception it accepted all faiths and creeds that were opposed to the Negro.¹

One of the Klan's strong attractions to the average American, its secrecy, was also one of the weak points which led to its undoing. The anonymity of the white sheet made control of the members a virtual impossibility, resulting in the perpetration of all types of crimes by the Klansmen. Because of this, the leaders officially disbanded the organization in 1869, tore up their Klan regalia, and destroyed their records. Nevertheless, white-robed night riders continued to terrorize communities until the United States Congress passed laws in 1871-72 aimed at the dissolution of the Klan and other secret societies.²

The legislation of 1871-72 spelled the demise of the Klan as an organization; its prejudices and extremism, however, lived on in other organizations. The American Protective Association was one such organization. Membership in the Know-Nothing party had been restricted to native-born Americans; the A. P. A. opened its membership to naturalized citizens. Formed in 1887 at Clinton, Iowa, it was a secret, oathbound society which was opposed to Roman Catholicism "in

¹Roy, p. 120.

²Julia E. Johnson (ed.), The Reference Shelf (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, May, 1923), pp. 85, 22.

every shape or form."¹ Employing "ex-priests" and "escaped nuns" to lecture in the interest of the organization, the A. P. A. achieved phenomenal growth, claiming at one time a membership of over two million. Not only were its doctrine and sentiments in accordance with the Ku Klux Klan, but the "accounts of the methods of the A. P. A. might easily be mistaken for accounts of the Klan."² This ultra-Protestant body served to harbour prejudices and hostilities let loose by Know-Nothingism and the Reconstruction Klan. "For this reason the modern Klan, so far as its main idea is concerned, is a lineal descendant of Know-Nothingism and the American Protective Association."³

Despite the 1871-72 legislation, the American people had not seen the end of the hooded Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; it was revived in November, 1915, by William Joseph Simmons of Atlanta, Georgia. Seven months prior to this date, the first full-length motion picture in American history was released. The Birth of a Nation told the story of a patriotic and virtuous Ku Klux Klan rescuing the South from pillage and ruin after the Civil War. In the ensuing months fifty million people viewed this "technical masterpiece that was often factually inaccurate,"⁴ and it is highly probable

¹Mecklin, p. 138.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 132.

⁴Jackson, p. 3.

that this film inspired Simmons to gather in organizational form the feelings and prejudices of the original Ku Klux Klan.

The propaganda of the new Klan made clear the intention to commemorate and perpetuate the original Order.

A greater achievement in all history was never accomplished for culture, civilization and humanity. The men of that society were the champions of real liberty and the peerless paragons of a pure patriotism. A great courage, a dauntless spirit, a manly, necessary mission and lofty ideals were the actuating principles of those valiant men.

Therefore,

a great memorial is now being built to commemorate those men and perpetuate their spiritual purpose and ideals. This monument shall be constructed of real American manhood and cast in the proportions and character of a great fraternal order and it is and shall be known as the Invisible Empire: Knights Of The Ku Klux Klan. ¹

The original Klan, although anti-Negro, received into its membership people of all faiths, including Catholics and Jews. ² The new Order accepted the former sentiment, but rejected the latter attitude of religious tolerance. The backbone of the organization's doctrine, and upon which its success depended, was its anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic sentiments.

For the first few years, the revived Klan was confined to Alabama and Georgia and was, in fact, merely another southern fraternity. In 1920 its membership was less than two

¹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

²Roy, p. 120.

thousand and showed no indication of becoming a sociological phenomenon in the United States. The wheels of fortune, however, began to turn in favour of the Klan in the spring of 1920.¹

It was then that two promoters, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, were attracted to the Ku Klux Klan. Although they had participated in promotional drives for such respectable institutions as the Red Cross, Salvation Army, and Anti-Saloon League, Clarke and Tyler had unsavoury reputations.² When they offered to put this experience in manipulating human emotions at the disposal of the Klan, Simmons readily accepted. In three months, Clarke claimed, 48,000 persons joined the Klan; and within a few years, Klan membership was being estimated in the millions. J. M. Mecklin, writing in 1924, observed that the Order had "survived the attack of the powerful New York World and a searching investigation by a committee of Congress, and to-day boasts of a following that is numbered in hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions."³

In the winter of 1920-21, the Klan crossed the Mason-Dixon line into the northern States, and by 1923 the older Northwest had become the "center and source of greatest

¹Jackson, pp. 8-9.

²Ibid., pp. 9-13.

³Ibid., pp. 9-10; Mecklin, p. 3.

power" for the organization.¹ In May, 1923, a survey of Klan memberships revealed that Indiana claimed 294,000, Ohio 300,000, and Illinois 131,000. Other Midwestern states had memberships ranging from 30,000 to 75,000. "Thus, by mid-1923 the Invisible Empire claimed between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 members, and the center of its prestige was definitely the Midwest by that date."²

As to why the Klan became nationally prominent in the 1920's and not at an earlier date, Mecklin suggests that the answer lies in the deep sense of insecurity experienced by America's old stock during that decade.³ He defined American "old stock" as being of Scotch-Irish or English descent and intensely Protestant, having Presbyterian ancestors but belonging largely to the Baptist and Methodist communions by 1920.⁴ The old stock American's society was

rural or rurally oriented; his values were the traditional values of rural America He was suspicious of things foreign and was not notably tolerant. Deeply wedded to the stability of his world, he had historically demanded conformity to his scheme of arrangements.⁵

To this element of the population, developments of the 1920's

¹Kenneth Earl Harrell, "The Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana, 1920-1930" (Unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1966), p. 65.

²Ibid.

³Mecklin, pp. 96-103; see also Harrell, p. 79.

⁴Ibid., p. 100.

⁵Harrell, p. 79.

were most disturbing: intense patriotism coupled with hatred for the enemy arising out of World War One; the common opinion that labour radicalism being fed by "alien" ideas; the conviction held by many that immigrants were responsible for the crime wave sweeping the United States in the wake of the War; the flood of articles and books appealing to Anglo-Saxon feelings of superiority; and the challenge to Protestant orthodoxy by Modernism and the doctrine of evolution.¹ At the local level, conditions were also conducive for a reawakening of the Klan in the 'twenties'. The fact that in the United States there were over 800 secret organizations with more than 30,000,000 members in 1927 indicated that normal social activity was not satisfactory, particularly in the towns and villages. "Small-town scrutiny, the compulsion to conformity, and the constant pressure to walk the straight and narrow path, propelled small-town inhabitants toward artificial thrills."²

2

In this period of the Klan's ascendance in the United States, reports of locals springing up north of the 49th parallel began to appear. The first attempt to organize in Canada, it seems, began in Montreal in September, 1921.

¹Ibid., pp. 84-96.

²Ibid., p. 101.

"The famous Ku Klux Klan is organizing in Montreal," reported the Montreal Daily Star, "A branch of the organization is already in existence, but, has not, as yet, become a chartered branch of the mother body of the 'Invisible Empire.'"¹ Like other branches of the Klan, continued the report, the Montreal local was anti-negro and anti-Jewish as stated frankly by its leader:

We feel that we are keeping well within the law in joining what we believe has been an unduly criticised organization on our continent. While we are anti-Jewish and anti-negro, we shall not confine our actions, if occasion for any should arise, to these sects and colors. Others who offend and who manage to evade the law had better beware once we are properly organized.²

The Daily Star carried another report of Klan activities on October 4th, headlined "Montreal Branch Of Ku Klux Klan Meets In Abandoned Quarry," a secret meeting was held and attended by "masked, hooded and silent men," who planned to provide "proof of their existence in the form of some demonstration."³ That the Klan continued to operate throughout the 1920's in Montreal, is the implication of a letter in 1931 from the secretary of the Vancouver Klan No. 1 to Arthur Meighen: "Lately in the province of Quebec, particularly in Montreal, where the Klan had a chance . . . they

¹Oct. 1, 1921, p. 3. See also Victoria Daily Times, Nov. 21, 1922, p. 9: "So far only one lodge in Canada has been reported . . . at Montreal."

²Ibid.

³See also Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 20, 1921, p. 15, for another reference to Klan.

used every inch of its power against Houde, the alleged conservative who was hand in hand with the Jews."¹

British Columbia appears to have been the second province in Canada to have a branch of the Ku Klux Klan. "Is The Ku Klux Klan Coming To British Columbia," read the title of an article in the Victoria Daily Times on November 21, 1922. The report continued:

What is believed to be the first attempt to organize the Ku Klux Klan in British Columbia is contained in an advertisement in one of the Cranbrook newspapers last week inviting in display type written application for membership. The notice is signed by H. Moncroft and is said to be on behalf of the Canadian Division of the Ku Klux Klan to establish Lodge No. 299. 2

Another reference was made to the Klan in British Columbia on August 1, 1924, when Prime Minister King was asked, "Are you going to allow the Ku Klux Klan to disrupt Vancouver and the British Columbia Province?"³

It was not until 1925, however, that organization of the order began in earnest with the importation of three Klansmen from Oregon, Major Luther E. Powell, Captain W. B. Laycock, and Dr. Keith Allan. Within a short time, local organizations were established at Vancouver, Victoria, Nanaimo, Ladysmith, and Duncan. A Klan rally held in North

¹Oct. 3, 1931, Meighen Papers, File re K.K.K., p. 104173.

²This caused a flurry of editorials and references to the Klan in the following week. See Victoria Daily Times, Nov. 22, p. 4, Nov. 28, p. 4, Nov. 30, p. 9.

³Mrs. M. L. Coyle, Montreal, to King, Aug. 1, 1924, King Papers, p. 83787.

Vancouver attracted five hundred people and was addressed by "Klansmen in full regalia."¹

For the first few weeks of the Klan's activities under the leadership of American organizers, the press gave it ample coverage as indicated by the following headlines: "Masonic Head Repudiates Claims of K.K.K.," "B. C. Powerless To Halt Klan; Appeal To Ottawa From House Proposed Now," "Demand Made That Legislature Take Steps To Curb Ku Klux Klan," "Klaxik Presses For Opportunity To Talk To House," "Amendment Regarding Ku Klux Klan Modified," "Klaxik Cannot Address House, Premier Rules," "Exclusion of Klan Organizers Latest Plan Before House," and "Grave Charges Of Graft Against Klan Organizers Now Here Read In House."² Other reactions brought the Klan added publicity: in Victoria a "black hooded gentry" was organized to combat the white hooded knights of the Klan; a Labour member of the Legislature, Mr. Tom Uphill, received a note from the order, during proceedings of the House, saying, "You are known;" and on November 26th the Klan announced its intention of holding a grand demonstration in Victoria.³

¹See Victoria Daily Times, Nov. 10, p. 9, Nov. 11, 1925; The Daily Colonist, Victoria, Nov. 11, 1925, p. 12.

²Victoria Daily Times, Nov. 11, 12, 16, 18, 15, 1925; The Daily Colonist, Nov. 12, 18, 19, 1925; see also The Vancouver Daily Province, Nov. 12, 17, 18, 10, 1925.

³The Vancouver Daily Province, Nov. 20, 26, 1925; The Daily Colonist, Nov. 24, 1925.

The Klan continued to be active in British Columbia¹ for at least another twelve years. In 1927, Vancouver Klavern claimed a membership of eight thousand, Victoria three thousand, New Westminster five hundred, and White Rock two hundred. There were at least another one thousand, claimed the order, at scattered points throughout the province.²

In British Columbia the Klan could easily fasten itself to an anti-orientalist tradition of some duration. In February, 1927, for instance, the Vancouver Klan passed a resolution advocating the "complete prohibition of Asiatic immigration into Canada, repatriation of all Asiatics at present domiciled in this country, and expropriation of their property . . . with fair recompense."³ This resolution was sent to the New Westminster District Trades and Labour Council, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, and the local provincial and federal governments.⁴ The British Columbia Klan continued this practice of petitioning government members for such reforms of Canadian life until at least 1932.⁵

¹See W. H. Morrison, Scribe of Vancouver Klan No. 1, to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Aug. 14, 1937, King Papers, n.p.

²The Vancouver Daily Province, March 25, 1948.

³Ibid., Feb. 5, 1927, p. 1.

⁴See The Daily Colonist, Feb. 19, 1927, p. 6; also King Papers, p. 130101, and Meighen Papers, p. 104148. A copy of this resolution is also on file at the City of Vancouver Archives.

⁵See Meighen Papers, Vol. 168, folder 111, re K.K.K.; also files in City of Vancouver Archives.

It conducted, however, other more spectacular activities. On June 18, 1927, the organization requested and received the permission of Vancouver City Council to hold a parade in that city.¹ The parade was widely advertized and "10,000 citizens lined the streets of Vancouver to cheer and jeer the marchers." Of the five thousand Klansmen, dressed in full regalia, who were advertized as participants in the affair, only two hundred appeared. The reason for this, suggested one newspaper report, was that the police prohibited the wearing of masks shortly before the parade was scheduled; it might also have been caused by an exaggeration of Klan membership.² It is also claimed that "ritual ceremonies of the Klan were held around huge bonfires on the beach at Kitsilano Point, near the mouth of False Creek."³

It would appear the Maritime provinces were chronologically next in line for Klan organization. This is the implication of an article carried in the Orange Sentinel on September 18, 1923, regarding the prospects of the organization invading Ontario. "Membership in the organization in Ontario," stated the writer, "will be the same as in the Maritime Provinces" On November 17, 1924, C. L. Fowler wrote to Dr. J. H. Hawkins concerning the organization

¹Correspondence with Council is on file in the City of Vancouver Archives.

²The Vancouver Daily Province, March 25, 1948.

³The Vancouver Times, June 9, 1965, p. 5.

of the Ku Klux Klan in Ontario, which body both men later led:

As I see the situation we shall have no trouble at all along the border land. The entire territory from Nova Scotia which is richly and predominantly Protestant and all along Via Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto should be fine territory and should make it possible for us to gather in large numbers at once. ¹

Two weeks later, Fowler again wrote to inform Hawkins that he had a friend in New Brunswick who was already engaged in the work and who reported that they would have no trouble establishing the Klan as "the men up there are wild for the organization." ²

In early 1925, an organizer at Boston was contacted and offered the territory of New Brunswick; ³ and the official bulletin of the Ontario Klan reported on June 24th that "the Imperial Kligrapp recently returned from New Brunswick where he had a happy sojourn with the King Kleagle [chief organizer] and Klansmen of that region. The work is going fine there." That the Klan was progressing in New Brunswick was indicated by a report of fiery crosses appearing at Fredericton Junction, St. John, and Marysville in the Saint John Globe on August 18. The report continued:

Ku Klux Klan activities in New Brunswick date back some months and there are today half a dozen or more lodges of the order in the province. The order seems to have its greatest strength in the vicinity of Woodstock, where there is one of the largest lodges; Aroostook

¹Fowler to Hawkins, Nov. 17, 1924, Papers of the Rt. Hon. James Garfield Gardiner (hereafter cited G.P.), p. 12663.

²Fowler to Hawkins, Dec. 1, 1924, ibid., p. 12668.

³Fowler to Hawkins, Feb. 23, 1925, ibid., p. 12729.

Junction is also said to have a lodge, and McAdam is said to have one, too. There are a number of others in Victoria and Carleton counties. Speakers from the United States have taken part at public gatherings in Carleton and Victoria counties in connection with the Ku Klux Klan activities. ¹

Other parts of the Maritimes were penetrated by the Knights of the Klan but, it seems, without much success as there is little evidence of the order's activities. In suggesting to L. A. Scott, the King Kleagle of Saskatchewan, that it would be wise to obtain a charter for Saskatchewan, ² Fowler remarked that they were getting one for Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island also appears to have witnessed some Klan activity as stories of the Klan apparently circulated among the populace, but no reliable or specific information ³ on its activities has been discovered.

As early as September, 1923, the Ku Klux Klan had begun recruiting in Ontario. The campaign for membership was to be continued under the leadership of King Kleagle R. Eugene Farnsworth of Portland, Maine, former itinerant hypnotist, lecturer, promoter, and photographer. ⁴ Whether Farnsworth ever began recruiting in Ontario is not clear; it

¹Typescript of this report was supplied by the Archives, Dep't. of Canadian History, The New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N. B.

²Fowler to Scott, Feb. 2, 1927, G.P., p. 12651.

³Douglas B. Boylan, Provincial Archivist of P. E. I., to author, Dec. 5, 1967.

⁴The Sentinel, Sept. 18, 1923.

is certain, however, that Klan organization was proceeding in earnest in March, 1925.

Pursuant to the call of Richard L. Cowan and by virtue of a certain contract made and entered into by said Richard L. Cowan, J. H. Hawkins and C. Lewis Fowler for the purpose of setting up and promulgating the Ku Klux Klan in the Dominion of Canada the above named parties met in Toronto on the above day and date for the purpose of perfecting the initial organization and of adopting ways and means for the future promotion of the work. ¹

The meeting, held at the Iroquios Hotel, was attended by at least three local residents, J. M. Wilson, Otter Elliot, and Crawford Hurst. The official name of the organization adopted was The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada, and the chief officers appointed were R. L. Cowan, Imperial Wizard (President), J. H. Hawkins, Imperial Klaliff (Vice-President), and C. L. Fowler, Imperial Kligrapp (secretary). ²

By May 16th, 1,102 members had been recruited, of whom 793 had paid all dues to June 30th or later. ³ But within six weeks, Hawkins had resigned and was demanding \$2,836.00 in back salary, threatening to go to court if not paid. ⁴ On June 8th, The Montreal Daily Star reported that seven thousand men had joined the Toronto Klan and one thou-

¹Official Minutes of first meeting of Klan Kloncillium, Toronto, March 13, 1925, G.P., pp. 12719-12720.

²Ibid.

³Secretary to R. L. Cowan, n.d., G.P., p. 12737.

⁴Hawkins to Fowler, July 7, 1925, G.P., p. 12722.

sand members in the Ladies branch of the order, including "a number of outstanding figures in the life of the Dominion."

Hawkins, however, did not remain idle; he quickly met with Klansmen at London and Hamilton and won them to his side. On July 17th, 1925, Hawkins organized a completely independent branch of the Klan, the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire, having as its objectives loyalty to King and Empire, the upholding of the womanhood of the nation and its protection against colored or foreign peoples, the abolition of the yellow peril, and the abolition of anything tending to bring ridicule on the Protestant church. "The regalia of the 'reorganized' Klan is to be the same as the original body except that the Union Jack will be worn on the right breast."¹ Within a few weeks, however, Hawkins was forced out of the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire and returned to the United States.²

The organization of another branch of the order presents a problem in trying to ascertain which group is involved in reports of Klan activities in Ontario; nevertheless, the similarity of the two organizations makes this of little consequence. Klaverns were organized at various points in Ontario, such as, St. Thomas, Exeter, Sault Ste Marie, Ottawa, Kingston, Richmond, and Belleville.³ There

¹The Sentinel, July 28, 1925, p. 2.

²James Anderson to Premier Gardiner, n.d., G.P., p. 12336.

³King Papers, pp. 96847, 138086-139094; G.P., pp. 12354, 13741, 13965; The Sentinel, May 15, 1930, p. 11.

is some evidence of vigilante activity by the Klan in Ontario. At Barrie, a member was convicted of blowing-up a Roman Catholic Church, and at Oakville, a group of Klansmen rode into town, burned a cross on Main Street, and separated a young man thought to be of negro ancestry from his fiancée and warned him to keep away from white girls.¹ It seems, however, that the Ontario Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's faded away as quickly as it had appeared.²

When Fowler and Hawkins organized the Ku Klux Klan of Canada in Toronto, they attempted to enlist experienced organizers for the other provinces. Manitoba was one such province. Fowler wrote optimistically to Hawkins on February 18, 1925, that "Colonel Machin has done some good work in Manitoba. He will get a Charter there also after Parliament adjourns April 1st."³ This was not to be, however, and the "good work" seems to have suddenly ceased as Colonel H. A. C. Machin moved his base of operations to Kenora, Ontario, within two months of Fowler's letter.⁴

The evangelization of Manitoba, it seems, was left

¹The Sentinel, Oct. 21, 1926, p. 3; The Canadian Forum, April, 1930, Vol. X, No. 115, p. 233, and Moose Jaw Evening Times, March 1, 1930, p. 1.

²Reports of Klan activity in Ontario appeared in the 1950's and 1960's. See Montreal Daily Star, May 6, 1950, p. 36, April 28, 1952, p. 1, Sept. 14, 1956, p. 2., Aug. 11, 12, 1965; Montreal Gazette, June 21, Aug. 12, 1965.

³G.P., p. 12727.

⁴Official Minutes of Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Toronto, March 16, 1925, G.P., p. 12720.

for the Ku Klux Klan of Saskatchewan. "This Saskatchewan organization . . . is under no obligation to any person other than in Saskatchewan and no money goes outside of this organization except for its own missionary work in the Province of Manitoba," said the Exalted Cyclops (President) of the Regina Klan.¹ This connection between the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Klans was further illustrated by the Imperial Wizard of the Saskatchewan order, who said that as far as he knew his organization was the only one in both provinces, and by organizer C. H. Puckering, who claimed that he was "lecturer and director of extension for the Ku Klux Klan" in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.²

The first attempt to organize the Klan in Winnipeg occurred on June 1, 1928, when D. C. Grant, organizer, conducted a meeting in the Royal Templars Hall on Young Street.³ On July 7th, Dr. Hawkins lectured at Virden, and on October 19th, Grant held a rally in St. Boniface.⁴ The Klan's campaign apparently brought some results, as one report observed that "about 100 miles out of Winnipeg in a general westerly

¹Report of Klan meeting in Regina on Feb. 16, 1928, G.P., p. 12847.

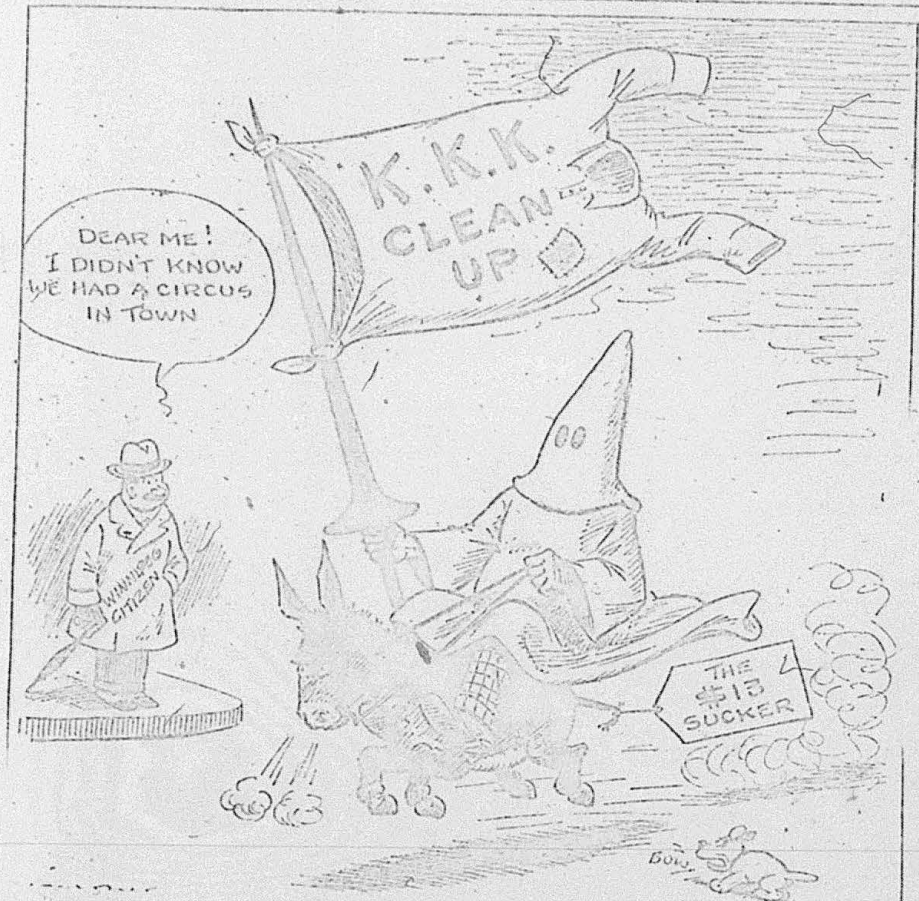
²Regina Daily Post, May 5, 1928; Moose Jaw Evening Times, May 10, 1928.

³Manitoba Free Press, June 2, 1928. See also Regina Daily Post, Oct. 20, 1928, and Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 18, 22, 1928, for other reports of Klan in Winnipeg.

⁴Manitoba Free Press, July 7, Oct. 19, 22, 1928; Regina Daily Post, Oct. 20, 1928.

October 25, 1928

SOMETHING HAS COME TO TOWN



* Cartoon from Manitoba Free Press, October 25, 1928.

direction . . . the chances are you would be stumbling all over Klansmen."¹

There is evidence that D. C. Grant continued to organize in Manitoba at least until 1929, and perhaps into the early 1930's, for the Winnipeg Klan passed a resolution protesting bilingualism in January, 1930.² The organization does not appear to have reached beyond Winnipeg in the east. It did, however, reach as far north as The Pas.³ But in general, Manitoba did not prove to be a fertile field for the Klan; meetings were poorly attended and the membership does not seem to have been large at any time.⁴

Ku Klux Klan organizers from British Columbia entered the province of Alberta in 1926 or 1927 and began recruiting members at ten dollars per head. Within a short time, one thousand members were reportedly in the order, with locals at Calgary, Milo, Vulcan, Red Deer, Taber, Rosebud, Edmonton, and many other smaller centres. The order seemed to be making good progress until the organizers disappeared with Klan funds in the fall of 1927. One newspaper hopefully observed:

¹Free Press, May 24, 1928.

²The Klansman, Feb. 1929, G.P., p. 12939; The Sentinel, Jan. 23, 1930, p. 9.

³Manitoba Free Press, Dec. 20, 1928.

⁴See ibid., May 23, 24, Oct. 24, Nov. 3, 11, 1928, for other reports on the Klan in Manitoba.

The Ku Klux Klan has failed in Alberta. So absolute has been its failure that it is predicted that any further attempts to organize the body will not be successful for many years. ¹

Two years later, however, in the fall of 1929, the Klan was revived by organizers from Saskatchewan. "Reports are current that the Ku Klux Klan will organize southern Alberta this winter," reported the Edmonton Journal on October 22, 1929, "their operations centring in Lethbridge." The report suggested that Klan activities in this area constituted "one phase of a province-wide campaign of organization directed by envoys of the invisible empire." ² The Klan received additional publicity when M. M. Burr of Calgary, Grand Scribe for Alberta, announced that Edmonton would be the Headquarters of a Klan District and two branches of the order were already active in the city. ³

In November, Klan organizer R. C. Snelgrove of Saskatchewan began campaigning in Alberta, holding meetings in Edmonton on November 11th, Drumheller on the 24th, and Red Deer on the 25th. ⁴ Although denying that he was campaigning under the auspices of the Klan, Snelgrove eulogized

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 8, 1927.

²See also Edmonton Journal, Oct. 19, 1929.

³Ibid., Oct. 29, Nov. 4, 1929.

⁴Ibid., Nov. 12, 26, 27, 1929.

the order and his speeches were identical to those he used¹ as a Klan organizer in Saskatchewan. Within six months of Snelgrove's entrance into the province, the Alberta Klan called a provincial convention for March 2, 1930, in Calgary, at which officers would be elected and a course of action² planned for the coming election.

With regard to publicity, 1930 was an eventful year for the Klan in Alberta: in May, it was blamed erroneously for the abduction and tarring and feathering of a Lacombe blacksmith -- the case received publicity throughout the year until its termination on December 10th;³ and in June, the order announced its active participation in the federal election campaign by issuing questionnaires to all the Alberta candidates.⁴ In at least one constituency, the fiery cross was burned to celebrate the victory of a candidate supported by the Klan.⁵

In 1930, another Saskatchewan organizer entered Alberta and lent his strength to the Klan cause. J. J. Maloney began campaigning in Alberta at the request of a

¹Compare Snelgrove's speeches as carried in Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, March 9, 1929, p. 3, and the Edmonton Journal, Nov. 26, 27, 1929.

²Edmonton Journal, March 1, 1930.

³Ibid., May 23, 26, 27, June 2, 3, 4, 5, Dec. 5, 10, 1930.

⁴Ibid., June 13, 1930.

⁵A. U. G. Bury, Conservative candidate for East Edmonton, ibid., July 30, 1930.

Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, opening in the Vermilion district and reaching some twenty points. He later "invaded" the Hanna district and, in the fall of 1930, Calgary. During his stay in Calgary, he edited and published the Liberator which claimed a circulation of 250,000.¹ By December, 1930, eleven locals of the Klan had been established in central and northern Alberta.²

Edmonton, however, was the centre of Maloney's greatest success. Arriving in September 1931, he claimed that by Christmas he had addressed 100,000 people and 400,000 by January, 1933.³ On September 7, 1932, Maloney and twenty others applied for and received a Charter from the provincial Registrar of Joint Stock Companies for "The Invisible Empire Knights and Ladies of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Alberta." In so doing, Alberta became the only province in Canada to issue a charter to the Klansmen.

The Klan's charter of incorporation in Alberta continued to exist until March 15, 1952, when it was repealed.⁴ Although the order seems to have been dormant for the twelve years following 1940, it was active throughout

¹J. J. Maloney, Darkness, Dawn and Daybreak, Vol. 1 (n.p., n.d.; copy in Glenbow Foundation, Calgary), pp. 29-30.

²Edmonton Journal, Dec. 26, 1930.

³Ibid., p. 31. For a letter that suggests Maloney might not have been exaggerating, see Joseph A. Clarke to Senator George P. Graham, King Papers, p. 157292.

⁴James Warr, Registrar of Companies, to author, Jan. 24, 1968.

the 1930's: in August, 1932, a fifty-foot cross and four smaller crosses were burned on the Exhibition Grounds at Edmonton;¹ in 1933, Maloney was arrested, tried and convicted of theft and "was given two months in jail and little or nothing was heard of him . . . afterwards;"² in April, 1933, the Klan was involved in a court case against J. Gordon Savage, president of the Edmonton Home and Property Owners' Association, for attempting to interfere with justice;³ and in August, 1937, a Ku Klux Klan picnic on the island at Edmonton Beach featured games, music, the burning of a fiery cross, and was attended by two hundred and fifty people.⁴

In the fall of 1927, most of the Klan bodies in eastern and western Canada amalgamated, under the name of "The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Canada," leaving as separate organizations only the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire and the Saskatchewan organization. Four principal officials were appointed for the dominion-wide organization: Rev. George Marshall, Imperial Wizard, and J. S. Lord, Imperial Scribe, for eastern Canada with headquarters in Toronto; and Rev. Charles E. Batzold, Imperial Wizard, and A. J. England, Imperial Scribe, for western

¹File on K.K.K., Glenbow Foundation, Calgary.

²Ibid.

³Edmonton Journal, April 12, May 15, 16, 17, 1933.

⁴Ibid., Aug., 23, 1937.

Canada with headquarters at Vancouver.¹ It seems, however, that the amalgamation was never consummated as most of the provincial Klan bodies were rent by internal dissension and bickering, failing to attain stability for any length of time and consequently unable to organize dominion-wide conventions.

By 1926 the Klan had, in varying degrees, although never with spectacular success, penetrated most parts of the Dominion, feeding on traditions of prejudice that were not new in the nation. At the end of 1926 it began to spread its tentacles into the province of Saskatchewan. Some have mistakenly reported that this was "the only part of the world outside the United States where the Klan gained a foothold."² Not only was it not the only place in the world; it was not the only province in Canada. It was, however, to be the scene of the Klan's greatest impact in Canada.

¹Official Bulletin of K.K.K., n.d., G.P., p. 12839; see also Calgary Daily Herald, Nov. 4, 1927, for report of amalgamation.

²Lethbridge Herald, May 5, 1965; see also The Montreal Gazette, May 18, 1965.

CHAPTER II

THE SCOTT-EMMONS ERA

1

The history of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan began outside the borders of the province, in Ontario and Indiana.¹ When the organization was formed in Toronto, C. L. Fowler and J. H. Hawkins were placed in charge of the "Propagation of the Order" across the country. In this capacity, Fowler contacted an organizer named Scott from Boston and offered him the Realm of New Brunswick.¹ It is most probable that this was Lewis A. Scott, later King Kleagle (Chief recruiter) of Saskatchewan. Whether Scott became King Kleagle of New Brunswick is not clear. About November 15, 1926, however, he told Hugh Finley Emmons, alias Pat Emory, alias Pat Emerson, that Fowler had given him papers making him the King Kleagle of Saskatchewan. He invited Emmons to accompany him and his son as a lecturer for the cause in Saskatchewan. Emmons accepted, and the three men arrived in Regina late in 1926.²

¹G.P., p. 12729. Fowler to Hawkins, Feb. 23, 1925.

²Ibid., pp. 12557-12593. Transcript of the trial in Regina of Hugh Finley Emmons, May 5, 1928.

Emmons and Scott had both been Klansmen in Indiana working under the leadership of D. C. Stephenson, who had made of the State of Indiana a "model" Ku Klux Klan Realm. In the short space of a few years, Stephenson had built up Klan membership to at least 194,000 by successfully applying four "sales features" to exploit the prejudices of the residents of the "Hoosier" state. They were, first of all, the normal aversion to Negroes and immigrants, the sentiments of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, the promotion of the public school as a patriotic and Protestant institution, and vociferous opposition to all vice in general, but bootlegging in particular.¹ Nor was the Indiana Klan so primitive as to use the crude methods of lashing and tar and feathering to gain its ends; the ballot proved to be its most effective weapon. Before Stephenson was through, the Klan had decisively influenced the election of a Governor, the Indiana election, and the municipal elections of Indianapolis city.²

But at the height of the organization's success in politics, things began to go wrong, reaching a climax in 1925 when D. C. Stephenson was charged with murder and convicted. The unfavourable publicity this aroused, in addition to a Senatorial investigation, put the finishing touches to

¹Morton Harrison, "Gentlemen From Indiana," Atlantic Monthly, May 1928, pp. 677-678.

²Ibid., pp. 681-682.

the Klan empire in Indiana, which disintegrated by 1926.¹ In its time of troubles, Emmons turned informer and became a star witness in the prosecution of the Indiana Klan. In one newspaper account of his testimony, headlined "Mask Torn from Klan by ex-Official," Emmons accused the Klan of stuffing ballot-boxes, using whiskey to influence voters, "raiding" men "in bad" with the Klansmen, roadhouse orgies, hate inspiring speeches, and the boycott of Catholic and Jewish businessmen and of newspapers indisposed towards the Klan.²

In the context of these problems in Indiana, Emmons received the proposition from Scott that he accompany him to Saskatchewan. At first Emmons refused and said that he had had enough of the Klan: "I have had all the K.K.K. I want for the rest of my life in this country and I do not . . . wish anything like this on any other country." Scott, however, managed to persuade him that Fowler was "going to open up a good clean Christian beneficent [sic] organization."³ Since the Senatorial investigation had embarrassed him and made it difficult for him to get a job, Emmons rationalized that "it

¹Ibid., pp. 682-684; Jackson, p. 157; see also Alva W. Taylor, "What the Klan Did in Indiana," The New Republic, p. 330.

²G.P., p. 13415. Clipping from Los Angeles Times, Feb. 21, 1928.

³There is evidence that Fowler did have something like this in mind when he began organizing in Canada. He wrote to Scott on Feb. 9, 1927: "I am urging our men as never before to tell only the real and true story of the Klan. We do not need to overstate, to exaggerate this great cause. We have the solution of our ills, we have the real and dependable remedy and we can not fail if we are true." G.P., p. 12658.

would be a chance to build up a different organization and a chance to preach the gospel."¹

2

Lewis Scott, with his son, Harold,² and Emmons arrived in Regina in late November, 1926. Although they were not the first Klan organizers in the province, they were the first to succeed in establishing the fraternity. Captain Monger of Moose Jaw had preceded Emmons and the Scotts but apparently was neither persuasive nor slick enough to induce the residents of Moose Jaw to part with their thirteen dollars for membership. Another was J. S. Lord, a former Conservative M. P. for New Brunswick, who doubled, it seems, as an organizer for the "Bible Students" and the Ku Klux Klan.³

The Scotts and Emmons did not waste any time in getting organization underway. In the last week of 1926 Klan propaganda was being distributed in Regina. A pamphlet, entitled "Why I intend to become a Klan member," was being slipped under doors and deposited in mail boxes. It outlined the objects and principles of the Ku Klux Klan and invited the reader to send for further information to Post Office

¹G.P., Transcript of Emmon's trial in Regina, May 5, 1928.

²Ibid., p. 12531. Statement by H. F. Emmons on Feb. 23, 1928, before a Notary Public in Indianapolis, Indiana.

³Ibid.; see also G.P., p. 12076. Premier Gardiner to Rev. Dr. J. L. Nicol, Feb. 11, 1928.

Box 363, Regina.¹

Emmons, as the "evangelist" or lecturer, in his first public harangue, addressed an overflow crowd in the Grand Theatre. Both his body and his voice were oversize, and dominated the theatre. About fifty years old, square of figure and face, though somewhat corpulent, he was well-dressed, and spoke with a southern drawl -- and with large reserves of volume.² He mentioned in passing the anti-Jewish and anti-negro sentiments of the Klan, and, adapting his appeal to the current environment, emphasized the objectives of the order as restriction of foreign immigration and retention of English as the only official language of the province. The Ku Klux Klan, he said, was "a great Christian, benevolent, fraternal organization . . . that is going to save Canada for Canadians."³

Using public meetings, the sale of Klan propaganda, and the distribution of literature through the mails, Scott established a local Klan in Regina. He sent a circular letter to every home in Regina proposing that the government should place the Union Jack in every home and public school, and that only Protestants should be hired as civil servants

¹Le Patriote de l'Ouest, Feb. 9, 1927.

²Regina Daily Post, May 3, 1928.

³E. G. Drake, Regina: The Queen City (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1955.) p. 176.



HUGH FINLAY EMONS

and teachers in all the public offices and schools in Canada.¹ These methods brought results. The Klan records reveal that Regina's original Klansmen numbered ninety-one,² but by October, 1927, the chief organizer in the province was claiming a membership in Regina of 1,000. This might have been an exaggeration, although a pamphlet circulating at the time, attacking the Klan and entitled "Ten Thousand Suckers," placed the figure at 800.³

Scott, however, was not content to restrict his activities to Regina. Before the autumn of 1927, the Klan had reached out from Regina as far east as Moosomin. Between these two points, locals were formed at South Qu'Appelle, Fort Qu'Appelle, Indian Head, Grenfell, Whitewood and Kipling. And directly south of Regina, locals were formed at Ceylon and Radville.⁴

¹Father H. Couture, "Le Ku Klux Klan." A pamphlet printed in Montreal in 1927.

²In her article in the Canadian Weekly, June 19, 1965, Jeannine Locke refers to a "96-page directory" of Klan members, dated June 8, 1928, in the Gardiner Papers. This date, however, only refers to the last three pages of the directory, which list only the local Klans and their two chief officers. The other 93 pages list names of members described as "original" by Premier Gardiner in a public speech at Lemberg. This was reported in the Saskatoon Star, June 30, 1928. The report stated that "the lists of the original membership of the Klan in Saskatchewan were obtained from Indiana."

³Letter from J. H. Hawkins to J. E. Huckins, Goderich, Ontario, Oct. 17, 1927. G.P., pp. 12677, 12601.

⁴G.P., pp. 12411-12504.

To the west, prospects looked even brighter. The King Kleagle lifted up his eyes and saw a field ripe for the picking just forty miles west of Regina. With alacrity, he promoted Emmons from a lecturer to an organizer or in Klan parlance, a Kleagle, and dispatched him to Moose Jaw, while he continued the good work in Regina, which was to remain the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan throughout its history.

In the decade of the 'twenties, Moose Jaw had an unenviable record of vice. It was the terminus of the Soo Line from Chicago, and in the gangster era of that city became a veritable haven for crooks and swindlers evading the law. "Bootlegging, rum-running, gambling, prostitution, dope peddling, blackmail and extortion, all flourished for ten years along River Street, with little obstruction from the police."¹ Into this den of iniquity came "Mr. Klean" himself, "Pat" Emmons, Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada:

"Clean up River Street" was the cry that brought hundreds under the cloak of the Klan. Emmons, a fire-eating, Bible-spouting rabble-rouser, built up his Klansmen with epic prose. "I know the River Street gang is out to get me," he shouted. "But if they do I want you to use my hide as the skin of a drum and beat it loud and long as you march along carrying the crusade down that sinful street of depravity."²

Emmons was not unfamiliar with the problems Moose Jaw seemed to present. He had himself been a saloon-keeper,

¹G. H. Robertson, "Moose Jaw: Playboy of the Prairies," MacLean's Magazine, May 1, 1951; also Robert Moon, This Is Saskatchewan (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1953), pp. 39-50.

²Robertson, loc. cit.

a professional gambler, "then a horse-race follower, until he saw the light, hit the trail and became an evangelist." He boasted of his success in the latter profession: "I became a reformer, and filled churches, not because I had anything the other ministers didn't have, but because I could shout louder."¹

Emmons began organizing in Moose Jaw in the early weeks of 1927.² It was not long before mysterious postcards were being slipped into Moose Jaw mailboxes bearing the following invitation:

Your fondest aspiration after this old world is
Heaven,
But before you go we need you in Hammond
Building three eleven.³

These cards probably were sent to people whose names were on the list of prospective members given to Emmons by Captain Monger, the unsuccessful organizer who preceded him. The list yielded the first crop of one hundred and fifty recruits -- approximately \$1,950 at \$13 per head. Emmons was sufficiently experienced to realize that steps had to be taken and money spent in order to consolidate his gains and build a good foundation for the Klan in Moose Jaw. For this

¹Canadian Jewish Review, June 15, 1928, G.P., p. 13791. Rabbi Isserman's report of an interview with Emmons.

²G.P., p. 12531. Statement made by Emmons before Notary Public, Indianapolis, Indiana, on Feb. 23, 1928. Moon, p. 45, states that "it is a fact . . . Emmons came to Moose Jaw in the winter of 1927-28 and began to organize" This is erroneous as he began in Jan., 1927.

³Moon, p. 45.

reason he held a banquet for the one hundred and fifty new members and outlined to them the ideals of the order, especially emphasizing that the Klan's motto was "Not for self, but for others."¹

Enlisting the services of capable public speakers, such as Rev. T. J. Hind, minister of the Moose Jaw First Baptist Church, and C. H. Puckering, to join him as Klan lecturers, Emmons succeeded in establishing locals throughout southwest Saskatchewan. Verwood, Assiniboia, and Ponteix, for instance, had local Klans numbering in the nineties, and Woodrow, a small country village with a population of two hundred and eighteen,² had a membership totalling one hundred and fifty-three, including thirty-one women.³ Other Klans were formed at Mitchelton, Mossbank, Limerick, Lafleche, Meyronne, Kincaid, Hazenmore, Aneroid, Ponteix, Shaunavon, and Swift Current.⁴

The first public rally of the Klan in Saskatchewan was held at Moose Jaw on June 7, 1927. "Thousand Attend First Great Open Air Meeting Klan" reported the Moose Jaw Evening Times the next day. The estimated attendance was placed at 7,000 or 8,000, with Klansmen coming from the north, south, east, and west of Saskatchewan, and from Alberta,

¹Moose Jaw Times, May 11, 1928.

²Census of Canada 1931, p. 442.

³G.P., pp. 12411-12497.

⁴Ibid.

Manitoba, and the United States. Four hundred and thirty-five came from Regina equipped with their own band, on a special train provided by the C. N. R.

If many of the crowd came to hear speakers froth in expressions of racial hatred or advocate the violent overthrow of all who opposed the Klan, they were disappointed. The gathering was of a "most innocuous nature," expressing desires for "brotherly love" and "to live at peace with all men." The meeting resembled "an old-time camp meeting" and, as the newspaper reported, it "was to all intents and purposes an evangelistic gathering, called for the purpose of urging sinners to repentance." After speeches by King Kleagle Scott, Rev. T. J. Hind, minister of First Baptist Church, Moose Jaw, and Evangelist David Nygren, a Klansman from the United States, the meeting reached a climax with "a huge cross towering high into the Heavens being set in flames," a spectacle visible from all parts of the city. Prior to being lit, the cross was guarded "by a number of the shrouded and hooded members of the Klan."¹ When one of these hooded figures was called by name, he is reported to have become annoyed and barked, "You're not supposed to know who we are." Apparently, he was recognized by the peculiar shape of his legs.²

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, June 8, 1927.

²I owe this piece of information to Mrs. Grace Lane, of Moose Jaw, who interviewed Mr. Harold Davies, the Moose Jaw Times reporter who covered the first Klan gathering.

After this initial and spectacular outdoor rally in Moose Jaw, there was an educational meeting open to the public, a social evening for members and their families, and a picnic "attended by about one thousand people."¹ By using devices such as banquets, honorary membership for the clergy and other influential persons, hiring of Klokards (lecturers) to recruit members, and, of course, public meetings, Emmons pushed the Klan membership up to at least eleven hundred and forty, making the Moose Jaw Klan the largest in Saskatchewan.² A glimpse of the size of the operation is given in his financial obligations. His secretary estimated the monthly expense of office salaries to be around four hundred dollars. In addition to this expense, each Klokard was paid ten dollars a lecture.³ Since the local Klan did not have a charter at this time, Emmons controlled the finances and, therefore, paid all the bills.⁴ Consequently, amid the enthusiasm and success of the Klan in mid-1927, a feeling of uneasiness be-

¹Moose Jaw Times-Herald, May 29, 1961. Article by Harold Davies.

²Hawkins wrote to J. E. Huckins, Goderich, Ontario, on Oct. 17, 1927: "We have at present over 2,100 members in Moose Jaw alone; 1,000 at Regina with many smaller Klaverns in other parts of this Province." See G.P., p. 12677.

³Moose Jaw Times, May 10, 1928.

⁴It was common practice for Kleagles to thwart, as long as possible, attempts by the local Klan to obtain a charter from the national office of the order as this meant money that previously went into their pockets would belong to the local organization. See J. A. Davis, "The Ku Klux Klan In Indiana, 1920-1930: An Historical Study" (Unpublished Ph.d. Thesis, Northwestern University, 1966), pp. 21-22.

gan to develop in the membership, particularly in the Moose Jaw local. The problem, of course, was money.

3

There is little doubt that the original organizers of the Klan in Saskatchewan were motivated primarily by the prospect of making some "easy" money. They had been in the province only a few months when Scott, residing in Regina, wrote to Emmons at Moose Jaw:

I had a conference with Mr. C. L. Fowler and explained to him that it would be necessary for us to take in a lot of men honorary [sic] in Moose Jaw and Regina to get things going in the province . . . and he has agreed to let me have all monies collected So I can see no reason now why we can not make it go and all so [sic] make some money. You are to have all monies collected at Moose Jaw before they are chartered 1

Emmons confessed later in a personal interview, claimed Rabbi Isserman in an article carried by the Canadian Jewish Review, that he and the Scotts had "fed people 'antis.'" Whatever we found that they could be taught to hate and fear, we fed them. We were out to get the dollars and we got them." ²

When he first came to Moose Jaw, Emmon's contract with King Kleagle Scott stipulated that his portion of the thirteen dollars membership fee was eight dollars. Shortly after his arrival in Moose Jaw he came to the conclusion that

¹Scott to Emmons, May 9, 1927. Transcript of trial, G.P., pp. 12557-12593.

²June 15, 1928, clipping, ibid., p. 13791.

this was not sufficient. He protested to Scott and when Scott did not respond favourably, he simply closed the office and went home to South Bend, Indiana, on April 26. But Scott wired him that he could retain the complete membership fee if he came back, so he returned immediately.¹

In addition to retaining the membership fees of the Moose Jaw Klan, Emmons was allowed to keep two dollars of every membership fee collected outside of Moose Jaw.² This was sufficient motivation to send him lecturing all over the province: at Saskatoon, Prince Albert, Weyburn, Kerrobert, and Carlyle, where "we had an attorney join us . . . as the first man to sign up."³ The details of his income over the period from January to September, 1927 suggest his success in winning memberships.

196 members	at \$ 8	per head	= \$ 1,568.00	
1,024 "	" "	13 "	" "	= 13,312.00
200 "	" "	6 "	" "	= 1,200.00 (women)
2,500 "	" "	2 "	" "	= 5,000.00 (members at large)
Total income - - - - -			\$21,080.00	⁴

Assuming that these figures were accurate, and there is good reason to believe that they were, and believing Emmon's tes-

¹Transcript of Trial, G.P., p. 12557.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴The regular membership fee was thirteen dollars (ten dollars for initial fee and three dollars in advance for quarterly dues) for men and six-fifty for women. In the beginning, Emmons' contract allowed him to keep only eight dollars, the remainder going to Scott in Regina. When recruiting outside of Moose Jaw, Emmons kept two dollars and sent eleven to Regina. Transcript of Trial, G.P.

timony under oath that his expenses were eight hundred dollars per month, his net income for nine months was \$13,880.00. When asked if he had saved any of this money, he replied, "I went home with \$1,650.00 more than I came here with."¹

But this, it appears, was only Emmons portion of the membership fees: the Scotts also had been at work in the province. Premier Gardiner estimated the complete membership to be "something over thirteen thousand" and the total membership fees collected to be "at least \$169,000.00."² It should be pointed out, however, that the Premier assumed that each member paid thirteen dollars and "sometimes sixteen," when the membership fee for women, in fact, was only six dollars and fifty cents, and many memberships were "honorary" or free.³ Notwithstanding, in answering an inquiry regarding the Klan, the Premier mentioned that the organizers claimed a membership of thirteen thousand, to which he added, "and I think it can be shown that they had."⁴

In the provisional years of the Klan's development in any Realm, the Ku Klux Klan Constitution provided for the

¹Ibid.

²Gardiner to Rev. Dr. J. L. Nicol, Feb. 11, 1928, G.P., p. 12079.

³Transcript of Trial, G.P.

⁴Gardiner to Bruce F. Mackay, Feb. 4, 1928. G.P., p. 12054; see also letters to Christopher Sutton, Jan. 25, 1928, and A. J. McCulloch, March 31, 1928, G.P., pp. 12042, 12168.

division of all membership fees between the King Kleagle and the national headquarters of the organization. This did not preclude, of course, special arrangements being made between the parties concerned - for example, the arrangement made with Emmons permitting him to retain the complete membership fee. But the local organization received nothing until it was chartered by the national organization.

Trouble began for Emmons and the Scotts when the Saskatchewan Klansmen began to clamour for a charter. In Moose Jaw, local members began to get restless in the months of June and July, 1927, and suggested to Emmons that the three dollars of the membership fee designated for quarterly dues should be placed in a bank account until a charter was granted.¹ The Exalted Cyclops of the Moose Jaw Klan, Mr. Frederick S. Ivay, declared that he went to Emmons and asked him when he was going to appoint a committee to look into things and to give the men in Moose Jaw an opportunity of having something to say in their own affairs. He asked him to appoint a committee, and Emmons replied that he was the committee, that the work was probationary and when it got out of that stage it would look after itself.² When asked if a charter was ever obtained, Ivay answered, "No, Emmons promised a charter right at the beginning. He kept saying the

¹Regina Morning Leader, May 10, 1928.

²Ibid.

charter would be along but he did not give any definite time."¹ Emmons and Scott apparently made allusions also to their intention "to hold a large organization meeting at some central point where the Ku Klux Klan would be properly organized with local officers." It, too, failed to materialize, but the time came when the organizers could no longer stall the Klansmen. Sensing the imminence of membership action, the two organizers conducted a "last grand drive for a final cleanup, and notified every member that the fees would be advanced from \$10 to \$25 on September 15, and urged that all intending members should join" before the organizational meeting was held on that date.² When this organization meeting in turn was postponed from time to time, suspicion of the organizers' intentions became acute.³

Suspensions were well founded: three days after the date of the proposed meeting, Emmons and the Scotts disappeared. Not only were they gone, but "Evangelist" Emmons, who "always . . . was reading his Bible,"⁴ and Lewis A. Scott, once described as "a man of real worth, a real man of dependable character and sterling worth,"⁵ had absconded with

¹Ibid.

²The Winnipeg Free Press, May 9, 1928.

³Gardiner to Nicol, Feb. 11, 1928, G.P., p. 12076.

⁴Moon, p. 46.

⁵Fowler to L. A. Hunter, Feb. 17, 1927, G.P., p. 12655.

the funds of the Saskatchewan Klan, an amount estimated by Premier Gardiner as running in excess of \$100,000. The local Klansmen were in a dilemma: to charge Emmons with embezzlement of funds would bring unfavourable publicity, and yet to refrain from charging him would mean the loss of approximately \$1,650 of local funds with no chance of regaining it.¹ The Klansmen finally decided to enquire of Premier Gardiner as to what legal action they could take.² Many of them suspected that nothing could be done since the membership fees were carefully labelled "donations". Nevertheless, Gardiner convinced them that the money had been taken under false pretenses, therefore giving good grounds for court proceedings. The organization took no official action, but it was arranged that two or three of their members would lay charges "to the effect that small amounts had been received under false pretenses."³

Following this advice, Klansmen proceeded to lay charges. The first warrants issued were for the arrest of Lewis A. and Harold L. Scott on October 1, 1927, in Regina. Emmon's turn came on October 18, when Mrs. R. H. Wilkinson,

¹He was formally charged with embezzling \$1,313, but he testified at his trial in Regina that he had left with \$1,650.

²It is important to notice for later reference that, at this point, the Klansmen were on friendly terms with the Premier.

³Gardiner to Rev. Dr. J. L. Nicol, Feb. 11, 1928, G.P., p. 12076.

of Moose Jaw, charged that she had been "swindled . . . out of fees paid by her for membership in the ladies' branch of the Ku Klux Klan."¹ The Regina city police notified their counterparts in Europe and the United States, initiating a wide search for the departed Kleagles.

Thus, on October 1, the Moose Jaw Evening Times headlined a report, "Warrants Issued For Arrest of Organizers of the Ku Klux Klan." It was not surprising that the departure of Emmons and the Scotts and the subsequent issuing of warrants for their arrest,

proved to be the most sensational news of the province in many a month and developed into a much discussed topic. The province was a-buzz with this latest development of the Klan. The scoffers jeered on learning of the occurrence; the tolerant smiled; while the Roman Catholics, hitherto mostly silent, laughed up their sleeves. 2

The Emmons and Scott affair might well have been the end of the Klan, but enough real interest had been aroused that, within a few weeks of their departure, the Klansmen closed ranks by holding a private meeting in Moose Jaw on October 25th at which they elected officers and appointed committees for a reorganized Ku Klux Klan of Saskatchewan.

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 1, 18, 1927.

²H. H. Kritzwiser, "Ten Thousand Suckers - The Ku Klux Klan In Saskatchewan," G.P., pp. 12597-12603. A letter accompanying the draft of this article reveals that the publication rights were bought by Haldeman-Julius Co., Girard, Kansas, for ten dollars on Feb. 1, 1928.

From this meeting until its demise, the leaders of the organization maintained that the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan was a separate and independent body from other Canadian and American Klans. This, in great part, enabled the order to survive, and to thrive, after the humiliating spectacle of its leaders absconding with its funds.

CHAPTER III

HAWKINS: REORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION

1

The Saskatchewan Klan did not long remain without leadership, for the "idea" behind it, according to Mr. Rosborough, a prominent Regina Klansman, "appeared to meet a want of a certain section of the people of the province," and those who had joined under Emmons and the Scotts still believed in its principles.¹ Consequently, shortly after the flight of Scott and Emmons, the Moose Jaw and Regina Ku Klux Klan committees issued a call for a convention of all locals² in the province to be held in Moose Jaw on October 26.

The convention was in session from nine o'clock in the morning until midnight. Two addresses were delivered by representatives of Regina and Moose Jaw explaining the purpose of the meeting and setting forth future goals. The purpose was "to create an organization covering the whole province to arrange for the carrying on of the work of the Klan." The delegates elected a slate of officers, all of whom were Canadian born, approved a financial statement ("audited by a

¹The Winnipeg Free Press, May 9, 1928.

²Regina Leader, Oct. 28, 1927.

leading firm of chartered accountants"), discussed and postponed affiliation with the Klan in eastern Canada, appointed organizers "to carry the story of the principles to every part of this great province," and endorsed the establishment of "lady organizations." The Klan publicity committee, in its report, concluded that "the assemblage was probably unique in the history of conventions in this province, in that there was 100 per cent representation, every local in Saskatchewan being represented by its full quota of delegates."

The convention reviewed the history of the Klan in Saskatchewan and endeavored to create a more efficient organization. Revisions made in financial arrangements indicated that the Klansmen had learned their lesson: "Under this arrangement . . . every organizer and lecturer is on a straight salary basis, plus expenses, and no one connected with the organization receives any commissions whatsoever."¹ It was decided, wrote one reporter in a special dispatch to the Montreal Gazette, "since 'the aims, objects and principles' of the order were right and worthy ones, the labor of organization should not be wasted, but it was made very plain that there should be no affiliation with any other body."²

From the convention emerged a new leader, the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan of Saskatchewan, J. W. Rosborough, who led the Klan until its demise. The new leader

¹Ibid.

²July 9, 1928.

was of Irish origin, born in Ontario, and a member of the United Church and the Orange Lodge.¹ He resided in Buffalo, New York, before settling in Saskatchewan in 1915 or 1916, and within a short time obtained employment with the Department of Education and, later, the Treasury Department. At the time of his Klan appointment, he was employed as an accountant and audited throughout the province. "He is also one of the leading Conservatives of the city," wrote Premier Gardiner to a friend in 1928, "and was very active at their recent Provincial Convention."²

Rosborough was not the only one suggested for the top position in the organization, nor its only Conservative, as he revealed about six months later when the accusation was made that certain Conservatives were taking over the Klan. Another Conservative, Dr. Cowan, he said, "had refused the leadership of the Klan because he was known to be a Conservative in politics, and stated frankly that if he took that position the other party would say that the Klan was part of the Conservative party"³ Nevertheless, the appointment of C. H. Ellis, yet another Conservative, as Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) for Saskatchewan convinced some, in-

¹G.P., p. 12612; Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, March 3-4, 1926. p. 67.

²Gardiner to J. E. Huckins, May 1, 1928, G.P., p. 12190.

³The Winnipeg Free Press, May 9, 1928.

cluding Premier Gardiner, that henceforth the Klan would be a political instrument directed against the Liberal Government.¹

Rosborough, however, was not to be the most colourful figure in this next phase of Klan history. The day following the Moose Jaw convention, a Klan rally was held, reportedly attended by one thousand people, to arouse the spirit of the newly organized body and to introduce to the membership another experienced Klan organizer.² Dr. J. H. Hawkins, a former organizer of the Klan in the United States and Ontario, had just arrived in the province and had been appointed by the Klan executive to the position of chief organizer for Saskatchewan.³ He was welcomed by Rev. T. J. Hind in these words: "We have had Mr. Emory [Emmons] with us and he went from us, but there has come another -- a noble gentleman -- and so far as we know he is a true man."⁴

Although an excellent speaker, Hawkins views contained nothing new to his hearers. He declared that white supremacy was one of the Klan's strongest doctrines.

God never intended to dilute the white race with inferior colored blood. The races were meant to be separated. I believe that Almighty God created the white race as superior to any other race.

¹Gardiner to R. C. Hall, Secretary of Wapella Liberal Association, May 18, 1928, G.P., p. 12213.

²The Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 28, 1927.

³Regina Morning Leader, May 7, 1928.

⁴The Moose Jaw Evening Times, loc. cit.

On womanhood:

the sweetest principle that ever stirred the heart of man was the sanctity of the home and of womanhood. It was a principle of the Klan to defend its women from any slight or insult and to see that women were not interfered with by word or looks.

And patriotism:

You hold in your hands tonight the greatest Dominion God ever placed in the hands of men. What are you going to do with it? Are you going to throw it away or do your best for it? The Klan is trying to do its best for it.

This was the first of many speeches that Hawkins would make throughout Saskatchewan during his year's sojourn in the province. Within the year, thousands would hear numerous inaccurate stories of "Asiatics preying upon white women," the Roman Catholic conspiracy to conquer Canada, the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, and the moral virtues and excellence of the Klan in defending white womanhood and the nation's youth.¹

Hawkins had an interesting and varied background.

In replying to a charge of misrepresenting himself as a doctor of law, he denied that he had ever claimed to be a doctor of law. He was, however, an attorney at law "having been called to the Bar in Birmingham, Alabama, in the spring of 1908 . . . later admitted to practice before the U. S. Federal Court of the Southern Alabama district, and in 1913, January 14, . . . admitted to practice before all the courts

¹Ibid.

of Virginia." Furthermore, he was a "Doctor of Optometry," "the highest degree in that line of practice," the ex-president of the Virginia Academy of Optometry," and a "teacher in the public schools for some years, and teaching on a first grade certificat¹." In representing Hawkins in the matter of his deportation in July, 1928, J. F. Byrant reviewed his clients background and then stated that "it would be hard indeed to find a more desirable immigrant than Mr. Hawkins."²

Hawkins entered Canada in early 1925 to take office as the Imperial Klaliff (Vice-President) of the Ku Klux Klan Of Kanada, the recently formed organization in Toronto. However, on June 24, 1925, he quarrelled with the executive and was forced to resign, and immediately joined the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire at Hamilton. His fortunes were no better with this group as "after a couple of months or so this Hamilton bunch threw Hawkins out." Banished from two Canadian Klans, he returned to the United States but came back in 1927 and was reconciled to the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada.³

The role Hawkins played in the evolution of the Klan in Saskatchewan was an important one; he lent his oratorical

¹Regina Morning Leader, June 5, 1928.

²Regina Daily Star, July 17, 1928.

³James Anderson to Premier Gardiner, n.d., G.P., p.

ability to the Klan's cause with enthusiasm and skill, speaking often and at great length in the villages, towns, and cities of the province. In deploring the Government's immigration policy, for example cried out with indignation:

Mr. Gardiner, I am loyal to Canada and the British Crown -- a Canada composed of those strong virile men of the north, the Nordic or Anglo-Saxon race, that you say does not exist -- men whose forefathers fought for this country by expenditure of British blood and treasure, whose sons died on Flanders fields that it might continue . . . men who eat meat once a day and who require a bath once a week, but I am not loyal to a Canada composed of men who jabber all the tongues that destroyed the effort to build the Tower of Babel, men who tighten their bellyband for breakfast, eat spaghetti and hot dog and rye bread for lunch and sucks in his limberger cheese for supper -- men who crowd our own people out as the example at Yorkton by offering to work for ten cents an hour, men who came to Canada with tags on them telling you their destination. God deliver Canada from men of this character. You have said we are a great melting pot, but let us see that the slag and scum that refuse to assimilate and become 100 percent Canadians is skimmed off and thrown away. 1

Dr. Hawkins' appearance was as striking as his oratory: "He was a tall man with a mane of white hair," wrote one observer of his career in Saskatchewan, "his frock coat and striped trousers seemed as appropriate on him as a peaked cap and overalls on a Saskatchewan farmer. His features were good, voice unctuous."² A correspondent of Premier Gardiner warned him that Hawkins was "a clever man, a good organizer, and a wonderful platform speaker, especially when addressing the female sex, and when he gets talking about his wonderful

¹Saskatoon Star, June 5, 1928.

²C. Higginbotham, Off The Record: The C. C. F. In Saskatchewan (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968), p. 31.



DR. J. N. HAWKINS

Mother, his sacrificing wife, his wonderful children, he can bring tears to the eyes of the average woman -- yes, and some men too -- but he never forgets the \$1.00."¹ Another friend of the Premier voiced a similar opinion but more descriptively: "This man Hawkins is as smooth as a silk worm's belly."²

2

Some memorable meetings of the Klansmen were held in Regina during the first year of reorganization under Hawkins' leadership. One such meeting was held on February 16, 1928, in the auditorium of the City Hall. Newspaper reports of the meeting estimated the crowd at over two thousand, and "Hundreds turned away as auditorium hopelessly jammed by 7.30 p.m." The crowd had filled the auditorium shortly after six o'clock, and an hour and a half later "it was not possible to get up the stairways leading from the ground floor to the auditorium floor and hundreds left the building convinced it would not be possible to hear the speakers. More spirited souls were not so easily dissuaded and improvised by using other entrances into the hall: "Many made their way into the auditorium by means of the outside fire escapes, while others got through windows in the corridors and along balconies through other windows into the hall." Once they

¹James Anderson to Gardiner, loc. cit.

²N. G. Calder to Gardiner, n.d., G.P., p. 12325.

entered the auditorium they were greeted by the sight of a large "fiery cross," outlined in red electric lights, situated to the side of a platform draped in Union Jacks. To make the occasion even more memorable, while they were waiting for the meeting to commence "the crowd sang many old-time songs with the lights of the hall lowered and the 'fiery cross' blazing."¹

Three months later, on May 23, the readers of The Regina Morning Leader were invited to attend a "KU KLUX KLAN KLAVALKADE -- MONSTER DEMONSTRATION -- SPECTACULAR BURNING OF THE CROSS" in North Regina on May 24. On the 25th an article in the Leader was headlined: "1,500 Witness Spectacle As Cross Burned." With a burst of fireworks," the report continued, "the cross was fired at 10.55 o'clock, providing a spectacular sight for the crowd." The cross was approximately eighty feet tall, with a cross-arm of twenty-five feet, and needed "a large steam tractor" to manoeuvre it into position.

While such spectacles were attracting huge crowds in Regina, smaller centres were not left unattended by Klan organizers and lecturers. To the quiet prairie communities in the southern part of the province the Klan brought un-

¹The Regina Leader, Feb. 17, 1928.

KU KLUX KLAN

KLAVALKADE

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION
NORTH REGINA--MAY 24--7 P.M., Fast Time

BAND IN ATTENDANCE

SPEAKERS: REV. S. P. BONDEAU, REV. T. J. SINDS, M.A., MR. CHAS. PUCKERING,
REV. WILL SURMAN, CHAIRMAN.

SPECTACULAR BURNING OF THE CROSS
ADMISSION: FREE. DO NOT MISS IT!
GOD SAVE THE KING.

* Advertisement from Regina Leader, May 23, 1928.

precedented excitement. The Ogema Times described the Klan meeting held in mid-April, 1928, as "the largest number of people we have ever seen at a public meeting here. Main Street was lined with cars from north, east, south and west;" the Estevan Mercury headlined one report on April 19, 1928, "Ku Klux Makes Debut In Town With Big Rally" and continued,

Anticipating the spectacular appearance of a flaming cross on Hillside and a possible gory free-for-all with the B'Nai Brith and Knights of Columbus, there was a round-up of denizens of the plains from all quarters early on the scene. To the great disappointment of the crowd, it was found that nothing more lurid than platform oratory at the town hall was on the bill. Autos [sic] were therefore parked at the curb from end to end of the block and the crowd swarmed the auditorium, filled the stairway and decorated the fire escape. ¹

On May 10, 1928, the Broadview Express reported that the Sons of England Hall "was well filled and the speaker applauded many times;" ² in June, 1928, the Klan was active in Maple Creek constituency, as one newspaper reported that the provincial Government won the by-election "in spite of Klan resistance." ³ At Gouverneur a meeting "in the interest of the Ku Klux Klan" was advertized to be held in the theatre on July 26, 1928, with the Rev. C. A. Blanchette, D. D., as guest speaker, lecturing on "My Reason for leaving the Roman

¹G.P., pp. 14066, 13523.

²G.P., p. 13570.

³Prince Albert Daily Herald, June 22, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13717.

Catholic Church;"¹ and at Climax, the local newspaper reported on August 2, 1928, that at the conclusion of a Klan meeting conducted by Mr. C. Wright and Mr. Balfour, the audience was asked to stand "if they thought the Klan was a good thing" -- the majority stood.²

During the last six months that Hawkins organized in Saskatchewan, four incidents captured the headlines of the press and gave the Klan province-wide publicity. These were Premier Gardiner's attack on the Klan in the Legislature, the capture of Emmons and his trials in Regina and Moose Jaw, Hawkins' debate with the Premier at Lemberg, and the deportation of Dr. Hawkins. Each event in its own way helped to consolidate the Klan's support in the province.

On January 30, 1928, Premier Gardiner made his first public denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan during the debate on the Speech from the Throne. He accused the Klan of leaving a trail of bloodshed and lawlessness everywhere it has gone, of stirring up prejudice and hatred, of having members without "backbone and courage," and of being un-British. In conclusion, he directed his remarks to the Opposition:

I say to the Opposition in this house and anyone else that I, as leader of this government, do not want the support of that kind of an organization. If we cannot

¹Pontieux Reporter, July 20, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13819.

²Weekly Climax, Aug. 2, 1928, G.P., p. 13853.

get government in this province without co-operation of that kind let us not have co-operation, or let us have no government at all in its present form. 1

The speech had the effect of pleasing most of Gardiner's supporters, with the exception of a few who thought it was a mistake to bring the Klan into the ²open, while arousing hostility among Klan members and sympathizers. The daily newspapers carried the story across the province, slanting it, of course, in accordance with their political viewpoint. ³Newspapers unsympathetic to Gardiner were quick to point out that the Klan had

done nothing in Saskatchewan of an illegal or immoral nature, and until it does, attacks upon it must be based on what it might do. Such attacks as those made by the Premier might serve to attract attention to it and enhance its popularity in some quarters It would not be good for Saskatchewan if the Klan became a political issue. The chances of the Klan becoming an issue were very remote until Mr. Gardiner spoke. Now those chances may be increased. 4

The Premier, however, was convinced in his own mind that he had acted at the right moment. Later on, after exposing the Klan in a speech at Loreburn, he justified his action in the Legislature:

¹Regina Leader, Jan. 31, 1928; see also G.P., p. 12639, for draft of speech.

²Gardiner to M. McLean, March 12, 1928, G.P., p. 12150; see also Gordon Unger, "James G. Gardiner: The Premier As A Pragmatic Politician, 1925-1929" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1967), p. 118.

³See Scrapbook Hansard for 1928, Legislative Library, Regina.

⁴The Western Producer, Feb. 9, 1928, p. 4. Reprinted in Moose Jaw Evening Times, Feb. 10, 1928.

I ask this question of you in the light of all the facts as I have disclosed them to you; do you think I would be fit to hold the position of Prime Minister of Saskatchewan if, having all this information, I did not warn the people of this province against parting with their money? ¹

Even after his defeat in the 1929 election, brought about primarily by the Klan factor, Mr. Gardiner refused to concede that his anti-Klan speech in the house had been a mistake. ²

Three months later, the Klan became a sensational issue warranting front-page news in the Saskatchewan dailies; this time the Emmons trials made the headlines. Emmons, brought back to Regina by Inspector Duncan McDougall of the city police force on May 2nd or 3rd, pleaded not guilty to a charge of misappropriating Klan funds laid against him by John Van Dyk, formerly employed as a Moose Jaw police constable and Emmons' secretary, and currently a Klansman and chief of police at Melville. ³ W. H. McEwen, K. C., represented the former Kleagle, and H. E. Sampson the prosecution; while Magistrate Hefferman sat on the bench. ⁴

The case was scheduled to open on May 3rd but, owing to the illness of a witness for the prosecution, Imperial

¹Regina Leader, Oct. 22, 1928.

²Unger, pp. 118, 92-117; J. B. Kyba, "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon 1964), p. 92.

³Regina Daily Post, May 5, 1928.

⁴Ibid., May 3, 1928.

Wizard Rosborough, had to be postponed until the next day. Counsel for the defence questioned the validity of the report of Rosborough's sickness, and added that "Mr. Emmons has come here voluntarily to stand his trial . . . and those who laid the information should be prepared to go ahead." Apparently, the charge against Emmons was not an extraditable offence; he came back, so he claimed, "to clear himself."¹ Magistrate Hefferman finally decided to adjourn the case until the next day, setting bail at \$1,000.00.²

On May 5th, the Regina Post declared in large headlines, "Emmons Hearing Is Started," and reported the first day's proceedings, which were devoted entirely to the case for the prosecution. The prosecution rested its case on the testimony of five witnesses: W. H. Sisson, a postal clerk, identified money orders that "were issued in Moose Jaw and totalled several hundred dollars;" J. Riddell, a former secretary of Moose Jaw Klan appointed by Emmons, testified that, at the request of the accused, he brought to Regina "what money was on hand" (approximately \$1,300.00) and gave it to Emmons "in a local hotel," presumably in September of 1927; John Van Dyk informed the court that he had been pressured into laying charges against Emmons by a Mr. Hawthorn, Dr. Ivay and Mr. McDonald of Moose Jaw; Charles H.

¹Transcript of Trial, G.P., p. 12571.

²Regina Daily Post, May 4, 1928.

Ellis, former secretary to King Kleagle Scott in Regina and currently Imperial Kligrapp (secretary) of the Saskatchewan Klan, revealed that "Scott cleaned about everything out of the office before he went away" and stated that he "understood Scott employed Emmons;" and J. W. Rosborough, the last witness, stated that he was Imperial Wizard of "The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," an organization independent of American Klans and, as far as he knew, "only organized in Saskatchewan and Manitoba," differing from the original Saskatchewan Klan only in organization.¹

"Emmons Bares 'Klan' Story," read large headlines in the Post on May 7th, "Ere Accused is Acquitted He Tells Court He Received \$20,000 From Members." Emmons took the stand as the only witness for the defence and unravelled his adventure with the Scotts in Saskatchewan. He revealed when and how they came to be in the province, the financial affairs and expansion of the organization. He asserted that his reason for leaving was that he had "built this organization up as a Christian fraternal organization and then Dr. J. T. M. Anderson of Saskatoon, Dr. Smith of Moose Jaw, Dr. Cowan of Regina, these men snatched it out of my hands." He described his

¹Ibid., May 5, 1928. Premier Gardiner wrote to J. E. Huckins on April 16, 1928, mentioning a "controversy" between two Klan "factions," the Emmons and Scott faction and the J. S. Lord faction. This quarrel must have taken place within the Saskatchewan Klan as the testimony at Emmons' trials indicated only one Klan organization in the province. G.P., p. 12349.

honourable release from the Saskatchewan Klan on September 17, 1927, and from the national organization on September 26, 1927. He had returned to stand trial, he claimed, in order to clear his name.¹ There were many people, however, who thought otherwise, believing that Emmons had been brought back to stand trial in order to embarrass the Klan and was being paid by the Liberal Government.²

There is no evidence that such was the case, but frivolous dialogue often obscured the seriousness of the case and served to reinforce this accusation:

Mr. McEwen: You banked in the Imperial Bank?

Emmons: Yes.

Magistrate Hefferman: It would fit in with the wizards?

Emmons: That is the reason I banked there. I thought we might connect at some time.

Again, when Emmons was asked, "Where is Lewis A. Scott?", he answered that, as far as he knew, the Scotts were in Australia building up a "Canadian" Klan, at which point Magistrate Hefferman interjected, "They will have a rough time doing that there." Another humorous exchange in the dialogue occurred when Emmons stated that seventy Klansmen at South Bend, Indiana, had gone "to the pen" while he was Cyclops. "You must have had a cyclone," remarked the Magistrate. Later, towards the end of his testimony, Emmons was asked, "Were you a minister of the gospel?"

¹Transcript of Trial, G.P., pp. 12557-12593.

²See Higginbotham, pp. 29-30.

Emmons: I was an evangelist. An ordained minister bringing souls into the Kingdom of Heaven. I had one of your Regina men say it was through me that led him into the Kingdom of Heaven and I hope they stay there and get out of the Klan.

Magistrate Hefferman: Did you lock the door? 1

This display of levity by the presiding officer of the court was additional proof for many who were convinced from the outset that the trial was a "farce".²

In summarizing the case, Magistrate Hefferman said that Van Dyk had mistakenly thought that Emmons had left Canada with monies belonging to the local Klan and was unaware that he had full authority from the "big mogul of this institution" to collect for himself, after April, all the funds that "the suckers" paid in membership fees. He continued:

It seems to me almost unbelievable that, in the great British Dominion of Canada, a gang of adventurers can come here and do what they have done, take thousands of dollars out of the pockets of innocent men . . . I believe we have a very poor manhood when we allow this gang from the United States to come here and collect money and have the audacity to tell the people of this Province what the principles of British nationhood are. They have had the audacity to tell us what the Union Jack stands for.

After listening to the evidence in this case I have not the slightest hesitation in dismissing the charge against this man Emmons. 3

True to form, Emmons declared after his acquittal that he would immediately "institute a damage action against

¹Transcript of Trial, loc. cit.

²See Higginbotham, pp. 29-30.

³Transcript of Trial, G.P., loc. cit.

J. W. Rosborough . . . and all members who joined the Klan" while he was in the province. He would seek \$250,000.00 as damages but "personally," he said, with a flair that had a familiar ring to it, "I do not want one cent and any money I am awarded will be apportioned between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish charities in Saskatchewan by an independent committee to be appointed for that purpose."¹

Upon his release, Emmons was re-arrested on a warrant issued at Moose Jaw by Mrs. Margaret Wilkinson, who alleged that he obtained six dollars and fifty cents from her by false pretences. As in Regina, the trial in Moose Jaw on May 9, 1928, created a stir amongst the populace. At the end of the day and a half trial, Emmons once again was acquitted on the grounds that his contract with the Imperial Kligrapp, C. L. Fowler, in Toronto, entitled him to the portion of the funds he had retained. The trial, however, revealed some interesting things about the Ku Klux Klan in Moose Jaw: that the police court stenographer was involved with the Order; that the Klan had raised \$10,000 overnight to open a restaurant Emmons referred to as the "Dennis", and that he bought \$100 worth of stock in this restaurant and gave it "as a gift to Puckering," one of his secretaries; that Rev. Hind was paid fifteen dollars for each speech he made on behalf of the Klan; and that Lawson Hunter, a

¹Regina Daily Post, May 7, 1928.

Moose Jaw lawyer, received one dollar for each member he¹ recruited.

The Moose Jaw trial brought forth little else that had not been revealed in Regina. Some controversy arose, however, over the legality of the trial. The question in debate was whether this second charge had not been included in the one laid by John Van Dyk in Regina and on which Emmons had been acquitted, or whether, under the extradition treaty, the waiving of extradition by an accused to face one charge made him liable for another charge. If so, it was thought that if "one woman could lay a charge of false pretenses against him, others, to the number of several hundreds, might take similar action, and he could be kept² under arrest indefinitely."

Emmons emerged unscathed from both trials. What support the Klan might have lost owing to the former Kleagle's revelations, it probably gained by the public suspicion that the Liberal government was using Emmons for political purposes. The concluding statement of an advertisement in the Regina Leader on May 18, 1928, announcing a "Special Closed Meeting" of Regina Klan No. 1, might well have been true: "Usual Place and Hour, United We Stand, Recent Happenings Help Instead Of Hinder."

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, May 9, 10, 11, 1928.

²Regina Leader, May 8, 1928; also Regina Daily Post, May 8, 1928.

Shortly after his trials, on May 30, 1928, Emmons decided to reveal to the public the inner workings of the Klan. The Post ran a full-length, half-page advertisement of the meeting in huge letters, accompanied with a picture of Emmons: "THE K-K-K EXPOSED, BY THE EX-GRAND KLAZIK OF THE U.S.A."¹ At 5.30 p.m. on May 30th, the crowd began to gather in the City Hall auditorium. One hour later the auditorium was half full and by seven o'clock every seat -- "more than 1,000" -- was occupied. "Ten minutes later the doorways were jammed and people were standing along the walls, while the overflow extended down the stairs to the next floor." When Emmons made his entrance and endeavored to deliver his expose, "jeers, boos and cat-calls" greeted him. For over an hour he tried to make his revelations in between hoots and howls and other more substantial protests, like the "battered bun that passed over the press table and missed the speaker" and the roll of paper that came fluttering through the air. He finally gave up and threatened to put his expose in pamphlet form and distribute it far and wide.² He never did, but this probably was the last of the Klan's "monster" rallies in Regina, although the Regina local continued to function into the 1930's.³

¹The Regina Post, May 26, 1928.

²The Regina Leader, May 31, 1928.

³Recommendations from the Ku Klux Klan appeared in the Report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930, p. 230.

Six weeks after the Moose Jaw trial, rumours of a debate between the Premier and Dr. J. H. Hawkins began to circulate in the province. Hawkins had been eager for a confrontation with Gardiner since February when his first challenge to debate was rejected. On June 2nd, Mr. Gardiner received the following telegram from Hawkins:

I am answering your attack made upon me in Melville and reported in the Leader of June 1 Monday night June 4 at 8 p.m. in the Melville Town Hall You are invited to be present and chair will be reserved for you. I hope it will not be vacant as was the case at Regina on February 16th Read John 7th chapter 51st verse. 1

As in Regina, the chair in Melville remained vacant.

But at a meeting in Rosetown, reported in the local newspaper on June 21st, Hawkins interrupted Premier Gardiner's speech to propose a debate on June 27th in "a town in the Premier's own constituency." Gardiner replied that he would gladly meet him but on June 29th² as that would not conflict with his schedule of meetings, and added that he "did not see any reason why a full bred Briton, born on Canadian soil, should have any fear of meeting on a platform any American Tory in this my own country."

Balcarres, a town in the centre of the Premier's constituency of Melville, was chosen as the place for debate. However, when the Premier tried to engage the town hall for

¹G.P., p. 12225.

²Rosetown Eagle, June 21, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13710. Apparently, the Rosetown meeting was held on June 15th. See Regina Leader, June 28, 1928.

the occasion, working through the local Liberal executive, he discovered that Hawkins had already booked it. Mr. Gardiner refused to accept these terms, initiating a quarrel between the local Liberals and Klansmen that resulted in W. C. Northgraves, Exalted Cyclops of the Klan at Balcarres, telegraphing the Premier's office that they would not "consent to J. H. Hawkins meeting Premier Gardiner in Balcarres meeting, June 29, under Liberal committee arrangement."¹

In order to save face, the secretary of the provincial Klan executive, Charles H. Ellis, issued a statement on June 21st, asserting that Hawkins was ready to meet the Premier in debate at any time and that the action of the Balcarres Klan was caused by a difference with the Liberal executive. The statement concluded by suggesting the stadium in Regina as an alternate location for the debate. Again, the Premier refused, stating that

if Hawkins or any other Klansman desires to meet me all he has to do is to put in an appearance before any of my meetings and it will be given him. I do not think it proper to lend my position as a drawing card for Klan meetings. ²

On June 28th, however, Mr. Gardiner announced that he would be speaking in the skating rink at Lemberg the next evening and that his "offer to meet the Klan is open to them to accept or refuse." Hawkins decided to accept.³

¹Saskatoon Star, June 21, 1928.

²Regina Daily Post, June 21, 1928.

³Times Morning Herald (Moose Jaw), June 29, 1928.

"Nearly 2000 people, from points, a hundred miles or more north, south, east and west, gathered in Lemberg to-night to listen to Premier Gardiner and Dr. J. H. Hawkins discuss questions pertaining to the Ku Klux Klan," reported The Lemberg Star on June 29th. The report observed that, although Lemberg was the Premier's home town, it was "questionable if ever a more pronounced feeling in support of two sides was before experienced."

Hawkins, being the first speaker, gave a lengthy history of his own career in the United States and Canada and declared that the Klan was based on Christianity, that the organization had no quarrel with the individual Roman Catholic but with his Church, that it was for racial purity and against separate schools, and that it did not go out of its way to help the Jew. He concluded with a defence of the Klan's patriotism:

Klansmen are just as patriotic . . . as Dr. Thos. Donnelly [Liberal M. P. for Willow Bunch] who, in the King's Hotel said, "To hell with British immigrants. What we want is dollars." And just as patriotic as Mr. Vallance [Liberal M. P. for South Battleford], who said what was wanted was "men with sheepskin coats and not British immigrants. 1

When the Premier stood up to deliver his address, he was given a "rousing" reception by his followers; during the speech, however, he was heckled by "several hundred" Klansmen. Mr. Gardiner declared that he had attacked the Klan

¹See Moose Jaw Herald, July 7, 1928, for full account of Hawkins' speech.

because it had first attacked the Liberal party, his government, thousands of Saskatchewan citizens, and because it "implied an organization of that type was necessary to supplement the courts of the province." He accused the Klan of being synonymous with organized lawlessness and attempting to legalize begging, attempted to prove that the organization had been introduced into Canada for the sole purpose of making "easy" money by quoting letters from organizers, and condemned it for stirring up prejudice among the people. "The conclusion of his address was the signal¹ for a prolonged outburst of applause."

Most of the reports of the Lemberg debate made much of a statement they claimed Hawkins later made to Premier Gardiner: "You're a bigger man than I thought you were." Hawkins denied this, saying his remark was "you're a different man than I thought you were." This, he explained, referred to "the fact that he had a far higher respect for the Premier before that meeting than he had after." Hawkins' denial, however, was belated, being announced after the news had reached him of the federal Government's decision to² deport him.

¹Ibid., July 2, 1928; The Lemberg Star, June 29, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13737.

²Moose Jaw Herald, July 2, and Moose Jaw Evening Times, July 21, 1928. The Lemberg debate was reported also in the Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg Tribune, Moose Jaw Evening Times, Saskatoon Phoenix, and Saskatoon Star on June 30, and in the Regina Leader on July 3, 1928.

The Klan received additional publicity, albeit unfavourable, from an incident that occurred at the debate. After the public meeting, R. C. Snelgrove, Klan organizer, was searched by the R. C. M. P. and relieved of a revolver. Snelgrove produced a permit that had been issued by John Van Dyk, the acting chief of police at Melville and informant in the Emmons case. The permit, however, was issued illegally and, on July 24th, Snelgrove was sentenced to two months in jail and fined seventy-five dollars and costs by Magistrate W. B. Scott of Regina. Having appealed the case, Snelgrove was tried at Melville on November 1st before Judge de Roche, a personal friend of Premier Gardiner, and had his sentence reduced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of ¹seventy-five dollars.

To many non-Liberals, the hand of the Liberal Government was clearly evident in the sentence meted out to Snelgrove, a sentence they considered harsh. Moreover, it seems that Snelgrove did not have the revolver on his person at the meeting at Lemberg but in his luggage locked within his automobile. It was argued also that the issuer of the permit, and not Snelgrove, should have been held responsible ²for irregularities in that regard. There was some truth

¹Regina Leader, July 3 and Nov. 2; Winnipeg Free Press, June 30; Saskatoon Phoenix, July 25; Regina Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1928.

²Regina Leader, July 3, 1928; Regina Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1928.

in the report of the Orange Sentinel, although probably exaggerated; that "perhaps no case has stirred the citizens of Saskatchewan to such a high pitch of emotion more than the case of Ray Snelgrove of Regina." The report added that thousands regarded him as a martyr and "the Brotherhood of Trainmen and the Veterans all over Saskatchewan have wired the Minister of Justice, but as to be expected our French Papist minister is doing nothing."¹

It is interesting to notice in passing that another case of the same nature, involving another Klan organizer, Thomas H. Pakenham, was before the courts at this time. Pakenham, a former chief of Police at Melville,² was charged with having a revolver in a club bag at Lumsden on June 25 without proper authorization. Again, the issuer of the permit was Van Dyk, who issued it before he was installed as Police chief at Melville. Pakenham was convicted of having a concealed weapon and sentenced to two months in jail and fined fifty dollars. The conviction was appealed successfully on September 25, 1928, the sentence being reduced to a fine of fifty dollars. Judge Hannon thought the previous conviction was too harsh considering the nature of the offence.³

¹Dec. 13, 1928, p. 11. Snelgrove had been a member of the Dominion Council of the G. W. V. A. and secretary of the Railway Trainmen's Brotherhood. See Regina Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1928.

²John Van Dyk replaced Pakenham when the latter decided to organize for the Klan. Regina Daily Post, Sept. 25, 1928.

³Ibid.; see also Regina Leader, July 3, 4, 1928.

Such incidents, taken with the Emmons trial and the encounter with the Premier, kept the Klan before the public eye throughout the spring and early summer of 1928. Hawkins was making his mark, but was not to be much longer on the Saskatchewan scene.

3

Dr. Hawkins had been the object of much newspaper reporting throughout his sojourn in Saskatchewan. Never the quiet and unassuming type, his flair for sensation made his presence felt wherever he travelled. Thus, when it was noised abroad that he had been ordered to leave the country, it created considerable publicity.

"Can This Be True?" the Orange Sentinel asked incredulously, when the news of Hawkins' deportation reached it. Then, answering its own question, it stated that "this is abuse of the law so far beyond anything that was contemplated when the Immigration Department was given such powers as to be a most astonishing outrage."¹ There was an element of irony in this "outrage": Hawkins, in answering charges against his character made by Premier Gardiner, repeatedly asked why the Premier "did not deport him back to the United States if he was such an undesirable citizen to Canada" as "the Premier had the power behind him to make easy work of

¹The Sentinel, July 19, 1928, p. 17.

such a matter."¹ Premier Gardiner, it seems, ignored the question; but the department of Immigration did not. On July 16th, it was announced that Hawkins had "until the 20th instant to leave voluntarily and, failing in this, he will be deported."²

Hawkins rose to the occasion in his characteristically smooth style:

The Ku Klux Klan in this province is progressing faster than ever before, he commented in an interview with the Daily Star, since the news came through from Ottawa that I must leave the country . . . I am leaving the Dominion with the greatest sorrow. I came here with the intention of making Canada my home, and of bringing up my family here. I have Canadian interests and a Canadian wife. I am leaving on Thursday with a feeling of regret rather than one of resentment. I am really sorry for Premier Gardiner, but I understand that he has had to obey "His Master's Voice."³

Reaction to the Government's action varied: the Regina Star editorialized that the action was taken because of "the peculiar sectarian control of the departments of immigration and justice as well as that of solicitor general" and because of pressure from Premier Gardiner, and commented that "to those who condemn sectarian animosity and bitterness the deportation of Hawkins is viewed as a powerful factor in perpetuating and intensifying these disturbing factors in

¹Wilkie Press, June 20, 1928; Saskatoon Star, June 27, 1928.

²The Ottawa Citizen, July 16, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13794; Moose Jaw Evening Times, July 16, 1928.

³Regina Daily Star, July 18, 1928.

our national life."¹ J. F. Bryant, solicitor for Dr. Hawkins, declared that it was "nothing but a cheap political trick" and, if his client had erred at all, it was "merely on the technical point that he overstayed his Department of Immigration leave in the United States" by remaining "south of the line 366 days instead of 365."² But the Toronto Saturday Night, on August 4, 1928, showing no sympathy for the doctor at all, stated that Hawkins

set neighbor against neighbor, and capitalized bigotry and ignorance while interlarding his speeches with oily allusions to the Cross of Christ, which he presented as analogous to the Cross of the Ku Klux Klan From the time he entered Canada at Toronto in 1925 Hawkins was engaged in periodical quarrels with other Klansmen over the division of the spoils which ran in hundreds of thousands on the aggregate. It is characteristic of Klan leaders that they are always in turmoil through efforts to "gyp" each other in sharing the receipts.³

At a meeting in Kenaston on July 16th, Hawkins announced his intention of leaving Canada on the morning of July 20th, adding that he "would return to Canada with his family as soon as arrangements could be made and would settle down here permanently."⁴ On July 18th, Dr. Hawkins held a farewell meeting in Regina, attended by approximately seven hundred people. After the organizer's farewell speech, Rev. S. P. Rondeau, in addressing the gathering, brought

¹Ibid., July 17, 1928.

²Ibid.

³Clipping, G.P., p. 13855.

⁴Saskatoon Star, July 17, 18, 1928.

cries of "hear, hear" and "much applause" when he stated defiantly that "they could deport the leader but they could not deport the troop" and, when he concluded, "We are up against a serious problem. The press panders; the politicians cringe; the preachers doze; and the public mind ignores and the Church of Rome carries on. Oh, God, give us men."¹

At his last meeting in Saskatchewan, held in Moose Jaw on July 20th, he was "accorded a cordial reception" by a crowd of 750 to 1,000. "It was fitting," he remarked, "that as his first public speech was made in the Stadium Rink here on October 27 last, his final speech before leaving the country should be made to a Moose Jaw audience."² In his opening comments, he confessed that he could "face the Great Power above and say that I am leaving Canada with no regrets for my actions and with no apologies for anything I have said." The conclusion of his farewell message was reported as follows:

Then, in a softer voice, Dr. Hawkins spoke of the regret he had in being exiled from his "adopted country." He pointed to the three flags that bedecked the rear of the stage -- a flag brilliantly arrayed with the stars and stripes, unfurled in the centre, which was surrounded by . . . Canada's emblem and the Union Jack. He spoke of the United States' banner as representing the country in which he was born, and the other flags as standing for a country which he loved very dearly, because he had attempted to teach Canadians a greater devotion to . . . their own flag. He would leave Canada as a gentleman and with the feeling that he had instilled

¹Regina Leader, July 19, 1928.

²Moose Jaw Evening Times, July 21, 1928.

into the hearts of Canadians higher ideals for them to strive to follow. ¹

On July 20th, Dr. Hawkins left Saskatchewan and Canada ² confident that the work of the Klan would continue "under the leadership of Canadians and Britishers, "such as Rev. S. P. Rondeau, R. C. Snelgrove, and J. W. Rosborough." ³ As for himself, he remarked, "regardless of whether I ever return to Canada or not, if I have aided to any extent in defeating the Gardiner Government, I will feel that I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." ⁴

The Klan flourished in this period of Hawkins' leadership, doubling the number of local Klans and almost certainly increasing the membership of original locals. By June 8, 1928, an official list of local Klans with their Exalted Cyclopes and Kligrapps was compiled. ⁵ The total number of Klans had expanded to one hundred and nine and the

¹Ibid.

²It is not clear whether he went directly to the United States or, instead, travelled to Toronto and then crossed the border. The Regina Leader reported on July 24th that he entered the United States and travelled east to Toronto; the Ottawa Journal, July 24, and the Saskatoon Star, July 25, claimed that he returned to Regina; and the Evening Telegram, Toronto, on July 26, reported that Hawkins might not have left Regina but might still be in hiding. Clippings, G.P., pp. 13825, 13836.

³Regina Daily Star, July 18, 1928.

⁴Ibid.

⁵See Appendix.

organization as a whole was strong enough in numbers and capable leadership to survive the loss of the redoubtable Dr. J. H. Hawkins.

CHAPTER IV

MALONEY AND EXPANSION IN THE NORTH

1

When Emmons and the Scotts left Saskatchewan, they forsook an organization consisting of approximately sixty-one local Klans. In the single year of Hawkins' leadership, the number of locals increased to one hundred and nine. At his arrival in Saskatchewan, in October, 1927, the Klan's strength was concentrated mainly in the southern part of the province; at his departure, in July, 1928, the organization had expanded to the north to such an extent that there were as many locals north of Regina and Moose Jaw as south. While this expansion began actively under Hawkins, it continued throughout 1928 and 1929 until in the later year, locals north of Regina outnumbered those in the South.

Saskatoon was probably one of the earliest locals formed immediately north of Regina and Moose Jaw, and one of the main centres of Klan activity in that area. The history of the Klan in Saskatoon goes back to a meeting in Moose Jaw between Dr. J. T. M. Anderson and Pat Emmons. This, at least, was the claim of Emmons and Charles Puckering, of

Moose Jaw (Emmon's secretary and later alderman),¹ in two affidavits signed before W. H. McEwen, commissioner for oaths in and for Saskatchewan, on May 17, 1928.² According to these affidavits, Anderson visited Emmons about May 15, 1927, urged him to start organizing the Klan in Saskatoon, and supplied him "with names of a number of persons in the city . . . in order to lay the foundation for the organization of the Klan at Saskatoon." He again visited Emmons in Regina and seemed "to be very anxious to have the organization work at Saskatoon go forward as soon as possible."³

Subsequently, in June or July of 1927 Emmons arrived in Saskatoon, at which time Dr. Anderson furnished him with additional names of "Liberals who he said had served the Liberal Party . . . for many years and had been entitled to certain favors from the said party which they had not received."⁴ It appears that Emmons remained in Saskatoon until August as a letter dated August 18, 1927, was received by Rev. George Marshall, Imperial Wizard at Toronto, from Saskatoon informing him that Emmons was still at work in the city.⁵

¹Moose Jaw Times-Herald, Nov. 23, 1937, p. 5.

²The Regina Leader, May 31, 1928.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Official Bulletin of the Ku Klux Klan, Aug. 26, 1927. G.P., p. 12844.

After Emmons and the Scotts absconded with the funds in September of 1927, the Klan in Saskatoon, nevertheless, continued to operate under the leadership of organizer R. C. Snelgrove, a former C. N. R. employee from Regina. An account of what was probably the first meeting of the Saskatoon Klan, held in September, 1927, after Emmons departed, was carried in The Reporter, a small Saskatoon weekly newspaper. The exposé, written by a local Klansmen, revealed that "there was held in the basement of the Odd Fellows Hall the first closed meeting of the Ku Klux Klan . . . at that meeting things were cussed and discussed, and the question of how to put the Klan on a working basis was threshed out."¹

After the guest speakers, Reverend Bunting and John Evans, Member of Parliament for Rosetown, had addressed the gathering, Mr. Snelgrove suggested the formation of committees in order to put the organization on a good foundation. The meeting then proceeded to appoint the following committees and their chairmen: the Invisible Investigation Committee, Jim Mercherson; the Invisible School and Educational Committee, Frank Smith; the Musical Committee, Mr. Goodmanson of Unity; the Political Investigation Committee, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson (who was "proposed" by Snelgrove and "seconded by Mr. Walker"); and then a committee "to be led

¹The Reporter, Feb. 23, 1929. G.P., p. 12935.

by Mr. Brouder of the Oldsmobile Company of Saskatoon . . .
to find out how many Roman Catholics there were in this city."¹

The original organizers of the Klan in Saskatchewan had barely left the province, and Saskatoon was just being organized, when Evangelist "Ex-priest" J. J. Maloney, under whose "fiery eloquence" the fraternity would later flourish,² began to attract attention on the Saskatchewan scene. Maloney had first entered the province in February of 1926, more than eighteen months before Dr. J. H. Hawkins. On February 8th, L. C. Moyer wired Mr. Gardiner from Ottawa: "Morning Press contains item to the effect that J. J. Maloney, of Hamilton, a self-declared independent in politics, passed through Winnipeg last night en route to Prince Albert, to assist Burgess."³ Burgess was the Independent candidate running against W. L. M. King in the Prince Albert by-election scheduled for February 15th. However, Maloney's evangelism took him on to other provinces, and it was not until after Hawkins' departure that he became the most prominent spokesman for the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan.⁴

¹Ibid.

²The Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, M. P., in a personal letter to the author on March 7, 1968, described the advent of the Klan in Saskatchewan in these words: "As I recall it, it began almost spontaneously and expanded under the 'fiery eloquence' (as it was described) of Maloney."

³W. L. M. King Papers, p. 111755.

⁴J. J. Maloney, Rome In Canada (Vancouver: Columbia Protestant Publications, 1935), p. 144. Apparently, he went to Victoria, B. C., after the by-election and returned to Saskatchewan in May, 1927, to commence his "Saskatchewan fight on the School question."



"EX-PRIEST" J. J. MALONEY

Maloney advertized himself as an "ex-priest" of the Roman Catholic church, who had been "saved" from the priesthood by divine intervention and commissioned to warn the world of the evils of Roman Catholicism. The other side of the story was that he had spent a "few months in the Seminary" but was refused further training owing to poor grades and financial irregularities.¹ Whatever his background, Maloney's oratory and virulence extended the influence of the Klan throughout the province.

Maloney's methods of making converts included the dropping of prestigious names as presumed supporters of his cause.² He claimed, for example, Premier Brownlee and some of his Ministers as supporters, displaying their signatures as proof. The names of Dr. Alfred Gandier of Knox College, Toronto, and Dr. C. E. Endicott, president of the United Church Conference in Saskatchewan, were used also, but these gentlemen, as did Premier Brownlee, flatly repudiated any connection with Maloney.³

Like other Klan organizers, Maloney had his share of court cases in Saskatchewan. In Radville, a Mr. Ediness laid a charge against Maloney for striking him at a public meeting. The local theatre became the courtroom, and Maloney

¹Gardiner to Hon. J. E. Brownlee, Feb. 28, 1928, G.P., p. 12144; Lemberg Star, Feb. 22, 1929; Unger, p. 99.

²Gardiner to Brownlee, Feb. 28, 1928, G.P., p. 12144.

³Rev. H. D. Ranns to Premier Brownlee, Feb. 17, 1928, G.P., p. 12149.

was defended by J. F. Bryant, K. C., who succeeded in having the case dismissed. The Klan took up a collection to help defray legal expenses.¹ Another court case against the "ex-priest," commenced by A. A. Rodgers, printer and publisher at Cabri, involved the sum of \$463.95 which Maloney neglected to pay for the printing of 10,000 copies of the October, 1927, issue of the Freedman, a periodical he owned and edited. Maloney decided to pay, however, and the case was settled out of court.²

Maloney had the honour of presiding over the first display of the "fiery cross" in Saskatoon on October 16, 1927. A crowd estimated at seven hundred pressed into the old Knox church in downtown Saskatoon to hear Maloney and R. C. Snelgrove and to see in "front of the church, beneath the Canadian flag . . . a cross made from electric lights which stood about two feet deep, throwing out a red reflection from the flag."³ His campaign in Knox church was reported to be an effort to increase the Klan membership prior to the provincial convention of the organization, scheduled for October 29th at Moose Jaw. The report also observed that bad publicity had resulted from warrants being issued for the missing organizers, and therefore "the surviving members of the organ-

¹Maloney, p. 153.

²Regina Leader, March 20, 1928.

³Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 19, 1927.

ization are making a tremendous effort to keep their heads¹ above water."

After the meeting in Moose Jaw, however, in which the order was reorganized into an independent Ku Klux Klan, the Saskatoon local continued to function. At the beginning of 1928, the Saskatoon Klan was fortunate enough to reap the windfall of publicity that accompanied yet another Maloney court case -- the most spectacular of them all. The Dealtry case was tried in Saskatoon on January 24-25. "Possibly one of the greatest legal battles fought in the Saskatoon court house," reported the Saskatoon Star, "the case of John James Maloney, charging Gerald Dealtry with having criminally libelled him through the columns of The Reporter." At seven o'clock in the morning, three hours before the court assembled, a crowd began to gather, resulting in a crowded courtroom and many being turned away when the court house finally opened. Police had difficulty controlling the mob; described as "jamming the upper and lower halls and wide staircase, a pushing, jostling mass of humanity," and finally had to lock the doors and stand guard on each side² of them.

Gerald Dealtry, editor and publisher of the Saskatoon weekly, The Reporter, had referred to Maloney in October,

¹Ibid.

²Jan. 25, 1928, pp. 3,6.

1927, as a well-known hatred breeder," a "spreader of a putrid kind of propaganda and a last chance ballahoo artist for the Ku Klux Klan," "a coward, a man who obtained tonsure (shaving of the head) for the purpose of escaping conscription," a student who was "nearly expelled from college" due to financial trouble, and who was never a priest. He observed also that the Roman Catholic church had "done its best to make an educated gentleman out of the little beggar, but . . . even the Pope in Rome could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."¹ These accusations were vehemently denied by an indignant Maloney while testifying throughout the afternoon of January 25th.

Once again, J. F. Bryant represented Maloney and succeeded in winning the case for him. Dealtry was found guilty and fined two hundred dollars or three months in prison. Maloney declared that he felt constrained as a member of the Christian clergy to request clemency for Dealtry and suggested that he be given a suspended sentence, a gesture the Judge termed "generous" and instrumental in leading him to reduce the sentence from imprisonment to a fine.² In a later reflection on the trial, Maloney exulted:

Dealtry was arrested, the trial, the Saskatoon daily Star-Phoenix claimed, creating the greatest interest of any up to that time in northern Saskatchewan.

¹Saskatoon Star, Jan. 25, 1928, loc. cit.

²Ibid., Jan. 26, 1928.

Women were at the Court House door at six; hundreds turned away; seven pages devoted to it in the local papers. Some had tried to convict him before but it finished Saskatoon's scandal sheet, and the Jesuits who were smiling, were not in Court to hear the words of the accused when sentenced: "Those who gave me the information were not there when I needed them." ¹

The public interest aroused by the trial, and Maloney's ultimate triumph, served to strengthen the Saskatoon local.

One Klansman boasted the following month that "the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of the City of Saskatoon, decided to furnish a 'Klan Ward' in the Saskatoon City Hospital, acting upon the suggestion of the Hospital Board themselves." He went on to mention that the money already was in the hands of the Hospital Board and to complain that "in spite of all the opposition that we in Saskatoon have had . . . we have been able to exceed all our hopes and expectation in regards to just the amount of money we could get." ²

In March of 1928, the Orange Sentinel carried an article entitled, "The K.K.K. a Powerful Organization in the City of Saskatoon," in which it stated rather grandly that "the growth of the K.K.K. in Saskatchewan is comparable only to the development of the agrarian movement there," and caused mainly by the "subservience of the Provincial Government to Roman Catholicism." ³

¹J. J. Maloney, Darkness, Dawn and Daybreak, Vol. 1 (n.p., n.d. Glenbow Foundation, Calgary), p. 27.

²J. P. Grant to Editor, Regina Standard, March 1, 1928; also The Western Freedman, April 5, 1928. G.P., p. 12855.

³The Sentinel, March 29, 1928, p. 11.

Maloney continued to visit Saskatoon. On May 13, 1929, just more than two weeks before the Saskatchewan general election, he was again in the limelight. J. J. Maloney created a "sensation," reported the Regina Star, and "startled even the more stolid in the great audience he was addressing" by stating that there were nuns teaching in the Tramping Lake Public school" and that Protestant children in another school were being taught in the cellar of a Roman Catholic church and by a Roman Catholic teacher."¹ As in most parts of Saskatchewan during the 1929 election campaign, Saskatoon was yielding "great audiences" at Ku Klux Klan rallies with their preachings of anti-Liberal politics.

Situated southeast of Saskatoon, Melville and Yorkton comprised an important centre for Klan activity in the central part of the province. The dating of the original Klan membership for Melville and Yorkton suggests that the order was probably formed there in 1927. Notwithstanding, it is certain that the Klan was active in Melville in February, 1928, and had alarmed some residents wrote Judge de Roche to Premier Gardiner, with "the influence in the West end of town." Then, with the next general election in mind, he suggested, "If they have captured the german [sic] element as is generally supposed, wouldn't it be worth considering J. J. Niekergael

¹The Regina Daily Star, May 14, 1929.

as a possible candidate?"¹

That it was active in March of 1928 in Yorkton is evinced by a letter received by the City council. The letter, addressed to Mayor A. C. Stewart and Aldermen, was signed, "The Klan." The local Klansmen assured the council of their support in its effort to "clean up our town":

Yorkton in the past has been known throughout the West as the Flower Town of Saskatchewan But, coming to the point, Gentlemen: The real flowers of our City are our boys and girls. What are we doing to protect them. The noxious weeds are getting a foothold.

The "weeds" were then enumerated: a Chinese "den", a so-called club, and a pool-room. The pool-room proprietor was accused of using gambling devices on his premises, and liquor, it was suggested, was being sold in a place other than the Government Liquor Store. The letter concluded with an exhortation: "Gentlemen, it is near time to weed the garden, and don't have mercy on the weeds."²

Towards the end of March, 1928, J. J. Maloney campaigned in the Melville-Yorkton area. On a Thursday evening in Melville, sidetracking from his subject, "The Jesuits," he characterized Saskatoon as "the vice centre between Winnipeg and the coast," assuring his audience, however, that "the Klan will clean up Saskatoon like it did Moose Jaw."³

¹Judge H. M. P. de Roche, Melville, to Gardiner, Feb. 11, 1928. G.P., p. 12090.

²Enterprise, March 13, 1928. Clipping, G.P., p. 13473.

³Melville Canadian, March 28, 1928. Clipping. G.P., p. 14075.

In Yorkton, he held three meetings in two days, Thursday evening and Friday afternoon and evening, addressing a total of 1,100 people. On Friday afternoon, three hundred women were in attendance, and in the evening there was not "a vacant space in the auditorium."¹

About six weeks later, on June 5th, the Yorkton Enterprise reported a Klan rally, held in the City Hall, attended by some three hundred and fifty people. The speaker was Dr. Hawkins who spoke on the usual Klan themes. On the Ku Klux Klan:

The Ku Klux Klan was called into being by Divine power . . . to call men back to their duty to God and man. It is an organization of God-fearing men and women who are looking for the development of their country.

On civil rights:

there are certain personal rights that must be sustained. One of these is the question of the coloured peoples. The Klan is against the admittance of these into the same full rights as the white man. The negroes, for example . . . should not be placed on an equal basis Emphatically, he should not be allowed to intermarry. The same applies to the yellow races We are willing to give the man of color his rights but will let him know that the white womanhood of Canada is on a higher level than he is.

On immigration:

Is Canada to remain a British country or a continental territory ruled by Rome? At the rate that continental Europeans are coming to this country at present, it will not be long before they will be the dominant class They live cheaply and can therefore underbid other labor, forcing the Canadian and Britisher out of work.

¹Yorkton Enterprise, March 27, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 14076.

And, finally, on the School question, the Klan was

not fighting against the public schools, but against the introduction into some of them, of Romish ideas and practices

The Klan says that the schools should be free from sectarian influences, and that there should be one system of public schools throughout the dominion.

After such an implicitly partisan speech, and in keeping with its logic, Dr. Hawkins concluded by stating that the "Klan is not political."¹

Hawkins was deported from Canada on July 20th, 1928.

Before he left, however, he and Maloney shared the same platform as guest speakers at the Loyal Orange Lodge annual county celebration at Melville on July 12th. "There will be a grand parade at 1.30 p.m.," read the advertisement in the Sentinel on July 12th, "with two bands in attendance. Following the parade addresses will be delivered by Dr. J. H. Hawkins, J. J. Maloney and others." Eight days later Hawkins was gone, but Maloney carried on the good work, holding high the torch of the Ku Klux Klan with renewed energy and zeal.

A report in the Yorkton Enterprise, December 11, 1928, entitled, "Maloney Flays Existing System Of Government," was typical of the tone and content of his speeches for the remainder of his residence in Saskatchewan:

Everyone from the humble voter in Arm River to the Pope in Rome came under his scourging tongue. Premier Gardiner, McKenzie King [sic], the Attorney-General, the ten governments in Canada and in fact almost every

¹Ibid., June 5, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13660; see also Saskatoon Star, June 5, 1928, and Regina Morning Leader, June 5, 1928.

public official in the land was rent asunder and laid on the altar of public opinion by J. J. Maloney while the crowd cheered him to the echo. ¹

A reminder that the Ku Klux Klan was still active in the Melville-Yorkton region in 1929 appeared in the Melville Advance on February 28th when the local secretary of the Klan "handed to The Advance [sic] for publication" a resolution of sympathy, regarding the King's illness, that was endorsed and cabled to the Royal Family by "the delegates of the Second Klönvocation of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, convened in the City of Saskatoon in the Province of Saskatchewan."²

Advertisements, letters to the editor, and reports appearing in local newspapers revealed that the Klan continued to be active throughout the region between Yorkton and Saskatoon. Advertisements appeared in the Qu'Appelle Progress on April 26, 1928, the Esterhazy Observer on July 5, the Balcarres Free Lance on July 12, and the Davidson Leader on July 26.³ Letters to the editor, commenting on local attempts at organization, were published in the Imperial Review, April 19, 1928, and the Viscount Sun, June 8; and letters from Hanléy and Edenwold were published, respectively, in the Saskatoon Star, July 7, 1928, and the Regina

¹G.P., p. 13928.

²Ibid., p. 13950.

³G.P., pp. 13530, 13773, 13784, 13837.

¹
Leader, August 24, 1929. The reports also made it clear that the Klan could draw on a good supply of speakers and organizers: Dr. J. H. Hawkins held meetings in Watrous in May, 1928, and Qu'Appelle and Kenaston in July; ² T. H. Pakenham and J. Balfour conducted a public meeting "under the auspices of the K.K.K. on May 27" at Foam Lake; ³ C. H. Puckering gave a "very fine speech, which was not accompanied by the usual 'mud-slinging'," at Nokomis in May, 1928; ⁴ J. J. Maloney lectured on the "Dangers of Confessional and unnatural Lives of Nuns and Priests" in Kenaston on July 31, 1928, and on "Romanism" and "The Future of Canada" at Wadena in February 1929; ⁵ and Imperial Wizard Rosborough was the "principal speaker" at an "At Home" meeting of the Ku Klux Klan in Watrous, a meeting chaired by Rev. W. Titley, of ⁶ Imperial. Other reports of Klan gatherings which did not identify organizers appeared in The Lance, May 3, 1928, published at Simpson, the News Record, June 29, published

¹G. P., pp. 13522, 13682, clippings.

²The Watrous Signal, May 17, 1928, and Qu'Appelle Progress, July 5, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13602, 13775; Saskatoon Star, July 17, 1928.

³Western Review, May 31, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13642.

⁴Nokomis Times, May 31, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13643.

⁵The Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 3, 1928; the Wadena Herald, Feb. 28, 1929. Clipping, G.P., p. 13951.

⁶Imperial Review, April 25, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13964.

at Lumsden, and the Esterhazy Observer on July 12.¹

Situated about one hundred and twenty miles from Saskatoon, Kerrobert was one of the most active Klan centres West of the "Hub" city. The Klan's first organization meeting here was reported in the local newspaper on March 28, 1928. The Klan organizer, Mr. H. Wright, "announced that the purpose of the meeting was to organize the 91st. local of the Klan, which now had a membership in the province of 15,000 men and 2,000 women." Rev. Bunting, the guest speaker, touched on the separate school question, immigration, the Roman Catholic conspiracy to conquer Canada, and white supremacy in the course of his address.

He concluded with asking those who had agreed with the principles he had expounded to stand up, and about 75 of the 130 or so present rose to their feet. The rest were asked to withdraw from the hall, after which cards were passed around for signatures. We understand that a number of those present became members and that further organization work will be carried on.

The meeting was then dismissed in prayer by Rev. Walker.²

The Klansmen held their second meeting in Kerrobert towards the end of April, 1928. Three hundred were in attendance and the meeting could

hardly be termed a kid glove affair. It was full of punch throughout the two hour speech by Mr. Charles Puckering, director of extension of the organization, and facts, figures and charges, or statements, allegations and assertions -- depending upon one's point of

¹G.P., pp. 14080, 13740, 13785, clippings.

²Kerrobert Citizen, March 28, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13486.

view -- came 'fast and furious' from the lips of the speaker, as he outlined the aims and objects of the Klan and sought to justify its existence here on the grounds, chiefly, that the Church of Rome was seeking domination of the country.

The speaker wound up his speech by calling for new members and announcing that monthly meetings would be held to teach "Canadianism."¹

Kerrobert became one of the most worked areas in Saskatchewan by the Ku Klux Klan. The Citizen reported that "Huge Crowds Hear J. J. Maloney Here" on May 16, that citizens were "Startled As Cross Mysteriously Erected, Burns Here" on May 30, and that, on June 20, Dr. Hawkins had held a public meeting and despite "the very bad conditions of the roads, the Orpheum theatre was comfortably filled" to hear the speaker make his usual diatribes on orientals and the protection of white womanhood.²

Also to the west of Saskatoon, and mid-way between that city and Kerrobert, Biggar was another centre of Ku Klux activity. Reports of Klan activity began to appear in the later half of 1927. The local United Church minister was so concerned about it that he wrote to Premier Gardiner:

They are making most rash and extreme statements about public questions and about Jews, Catholics and foreigners. The speaker on Monday evening told them that if they would join the Klan he would see to it that all Catholic teachers were out of the schools and all separate schools

¹Ibid., p. 13526.

²G.P., pp. 13598, 13637, 13699, clippings.

closed . . . within three months They make the wildest statements about the Pope and some of our Roman Catholic people are boiling over and threatening reprisals. ¹

The letter went on to reveal that four Klan meetings already had been conducted in Biggar, and that a "masked parade and burning of the Fiery Cross" were in the offing.

Premier Gardiner received another letter regarding the Klan in Biggar in February of 1928, in which the writer stated, "I do know however that Biggar is organization-mad, and that none of its innumerable orders has so torn the town as this one has torn it." ² One of the factors contributing to this state of affairs in Biggar was the frequent visits of "Ex-Priest" Maloney.

After Premier Gardiner had attacked the Klan in a speech at Biggar on June 14, 1928, in which he classified Maloney as an undesirable in the province, the "Ex-Priest" replied at a meeting in Biggar the following evening. He began his speech by modestly stating "I have never yet told a falsehood or even an exaggeration." Carrying on in the same vein of injured innocence, he lamented, "I never thought the day would arrive when a political leader of a great party mostly supported by Protestants would be my outspoken opponent," and that for "reasons best known to himself, the honorable Premier of Saskatchewan has assumed the role of 'De-

¹Rev. H. D. Ranns to Premier Gardiner, Aug. 24, 1927. G.P., p. 12038.

²W. C. Sandercock to Gardiner, Feb. 13, 1928. G.P., p. 12105.

fender of the faith'," and brings into "this fight my dear father and mother and brings them by a false door." He described Premier Gardiner's speech as an "exhibition of slimy talk," and stated that he, too, had become "heated on public platforms . . . but I have never, thank God, stooped so low as to level my language in the coating of personal invective as heard in this hall last night by a man who claims to be a christian, a minister of education, and the leader of the great Liberal party in this province."¹

As the provincial election of 1929 approached, the speeches of Klan organizers became increasingly political, and entirely anti-Liberal. Maloney was no exception. The Biggar Independent reported on March 7, 1929: "Judging from the capacity house that gathered last Sunday night in the Majestic Theatre, considerable public interest must exist in a somewhat peculiar topic, 'Is it true? That the Roman Catholic Church runs the Liberal Party.'" The reporter concluded accurately from the topic and crowded house that "things are warming up lively for the foreshadowed provincial election, and as soon as official announcement is made of an election, the fireworks will begin in earnest."²

J. J. Maloney and Dr. Hawkins appear to have been

¹Biggar Independent, June 21, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13704; see also Manitoba Free Press, June 16, 1928.

²Ibid., p. 13954, clipping.

the main Klan spokesmen in this area west of Saskatoon throughout the summer of 1928. Maloney addressed large audiences, speaking on anti-Catholic and anti-Liberal themes: in Alsask on "What It Means To Be A Protestant," at Outlook on "Rome in Canada," and in Luseland on "various subjects mainly political, religious in his usual powerful and interesting way."¹ Dr. Hawkins harangued two hundred people in the Lyric Theatre at Outlook one Sunday afternoon in April, among other things declaring that the Klan was "anti-wrong" and expressing the unusual notion that "those who were instrumental in getting the Magna Charter [sic] were really Klansmen, but under a different name." At Unity, in June of 1928, it was "understood that a considerable number of the audience joined the Klan after the meeting,"² held by Dr. Hawkins.

Not all of the Klan's meetings consisted of religious and political diatribe; some took the form of a social gathering. This was the case in Macrorie where a social evening sponsored by the Klan was held in the town hall under the direction of Rev. L. B. Henn. The programme began with a brief discourse by Rev. Henn, "in which he stressed the fundamental principles of the organization and

¹Alsask News, March 22, 1928; The Outlook, May 17, 1928; Luseland Dispatch, Oct. 18, 1928; clippings, G.P., pp. 14071, 13606, 13887.

²The Outlook, April 5, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 14070; Saskatoon Phoenix, June 25, 1928.

emphasized the ideals of Canadian citizenship." The questions of British immigration, farm help, and the proposed change in the Canadian flag were discussed, and then "musical items and a reading were featured in the program following which a pleasant hour was spent in whist for which prizes were awarded." The evening concluded with a ¹luncheon prepared and served by the ladies. As in the southern part of Saskatchewan, the social functions of the Ku Klux Klan in small villages and towns attracted many members and contributed greatly to its success in the northern part of the province.

2

The Klan eventually reached still farther north than Saskatoon; in fact, the region between Saskatoon and Prince Albert contained at least fifteen locals, stretching from Hudson Bay Junction in the east to Unity in the west. The region immediately southeast of Prince Albert, especially along Highway number three, from Birch Hills to Tisdale, had the greatest concentration of locals and, consequently, witnessed the most Klan activity in the far north.

Prince Albert, itself, seems to have been an important centre in this part of Saskatchewan for Klan organization; its local Klan being established during Hawkins'

¹Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, April 11, 1929.

activities in the province. It is probable that the Klan was already organized by May 28, 1928. On that date, according to an advertisement in the Prince Albert Herald, Dr. Hawkins was to hold an "open" meeting sponsored by the Ku Klux Klan.¹ Whatever activity immediately followed, the Klan apparently maintained activity throughout the remainder of 1928. Dr. Thomas Robertson, a resident of Prince Albert and a Liberal party worker, wrote to a friend on December 14, 1928:

As you are aware the Ku Klux Klan have been very active in this province and Constituency for the past year and although they are directing practically all their attention to the Provincial Party yet what affects one will affect the other. Their whole attack or at least the only part of their attack which is having any effect on the people is the one that . . . religious Symbols are allowed in the schools and that Sisters are allowed to teach in Public Schools and while in my opinion the Government could by amending the School Act stop these two so-called grievances and strengthen themselves without losing any support, I understand it is not their intention to do so.²

There were indications that Prince Albert had fertile conditions for Klan organization and growth. It had a substantial Roman Catholic population that was active in civic politics -- according to the Sentinel, the Catholic slogan in the 1928 civic elections was "We never had as good a chance to get a Roman Catholic Mayor"³ -- and a

¹G.P., p. 13624, clipping.

²Robertson to Thomas Taylor, Dec. 14, 1928, W. L. M. King Papers (Microfilm reel c-2314), pp. 144202-144205.

³Dec. 27, 1928, p. 8.

strong and active Orange Lodge. On January 19, 1929, the Prince Albert Lodge unanimously passed a resolution, and sent it to R. B. Bennett, stating that it placed itself "on record as being most vigorously opposed to the Papal Delegate receiving recognition by the Parliament of this country, and further that we stand opposed to any Ecclesiastical recognition by the government of this Dominion.¹

This same anti-Catholic sentiment could be detected in a resolution passed by the Prince Albert Klan in April of 1929:

Whereas, knowing that there are attempts being made to change the Flag of this Country, which are not to the best interest of Canada, we do therefore object to any change in the Flag as the Union Jack has for centuries signified freedom and liberty; and whereas, we protest to there being any attempt to separate Canada from the British Empire, as we firmly believe the future of this country depends upon a solid connection with the Mother; Therefore be it resolved, that we, in Klonklave assembled, place ourselves on record as being opposed to any such action.²

The Klan was still active enough in Prince Albert in 1930 to cause W. L. M. King some concern over the possibility of its adverse effects on his political fortunes in the federal election of that year. A Prince Albert Klansman was brought to his attention as being one "of the most dangerous type whose chief aim seems to be to stir up religious and racial strife. A rabid Tory spending a great

¹R. B. Bennett Papers, Vol. 71, p. 46152.

²Regina Daily Star, April 6, 1929.

deal of his time and influence in spreading anti-Liberal propaganda."¹ King's reaction was to dispatch a letter to Sir Henry Thornton, President of the C. N. R., on February 14, 1930. The letter is an interesting one and deserves to be quoted in length:

When I was in Prince Albert last year, I heard universal complaints about the activities as a member of the Ku Klux Klan of one, L. N. Daynes, who is a Maintenance Engineer of the C. N. R. at Prince Albert.

I understand that this man's health has broken down and he is at present on sick leave at the Pacific Coast. I found he was particularly objectionable to many of the citizens of Prince Albert, and the impression there was that he was doing all in his power through stirring up religious prejudice to undermine my influence in the constituency.

It has been suggested to me that as Daynes is at present at the coast, he might be permanently transferred there, with benefit to himself and to the community in which he has been residing.²

King's concern was justifiable, as the Klan had been a major influence in turning the provincial Liberal Government out of office just a few months before. As it turned out, he defeated his Conservative opponent, but his majority was reduced drastically from over 4,100 in 1926 to 1,192 in 1930.

The area immediately to the southeast of Prince Albert was well organized by the Klan. Melfort and Tisdale had original Klan memberships of over one hundred, and Kinistino and Star City had fifty-four and sixty-eight respec-

¹W. L. M. King Papers (Microfilm reel c-2314), pp. 144202-144205.

²Ibid.

¹tively. One of the largest Klan rallies held in Saskatchewan occurred at Melfort on May 24, 1928. A thirty-five foot cross flanked by two twenty-foot crosses blazed above a crowd estimated at five to ten thousand by one newspaper and seven to eight thousand by another. A band from Prince Albert entertained a "most orderly" crowd, and "many remarked that instead of being in an open air demonstration one almost realized they [sic] were in a church for everything was carried on reverently." Rev. E. A. McLaren opened the rally in prayer, which was followed by a few remarks from Rev. E. V. Bird. Between speeches by R. C. Snelgrove and Dr. J. H. Hawkins, the crowd sang "The Maple Leaf Forever," "The Old Rugged Cross," and "Onward Christian Soldiers." With Dr. Hawkins' opening remarks, "the three crosses were lighted and the gathering with their heads uncovered rose to their feet and sang feelingly 'When I Survey The Wondrous Cross'." The newspaper concluded that

The demonstration gave evidence that the Ku Klux Klan was of great strength in the northern part of Saskatchewan and the speakers spoke on the principles of the movement which were: Protestantism, Racial Purity, Gentile Economic freedom, Just laws and liberty, Separation of Church and State, Pure Patriotism, Restrictive and Selective Immigration, Freedom of Speech and press, Law and Order, Higher Moral standard, One Public school, Freedom from Mob violence, which tends to show that a great Protestant movement is working for the uplift of all mankind. ²

¹The population of these towns and villages were: Melfort, 1,809; Tisdale, 1,069; Kinistino, 543; Star City, 558. Census Of Canada 1931, Vol. 2, pp. 460, 462.

²Kinistino Representative, May 29, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13631.

The organizers of the Klan appear to have been most active in the north during 1928 and 1929. At the western extreme, at Unity, Puckering and Hawkins held meetings in April and June of 1928 respectively.¹ At Wilkie, approximately twenty miles east of Unity, Rev. Thomas Bunting delivered a lecture supporting the Klan in March, 1928, in which he stated that "the Ku Klux Klan is out to organize to see a country for the King, Canada for Canadians, religious tolerance for all and non-interference of state control and management by religion." In April, C. H. Puckering visited Wilkie, and was followed in May by J. J. Maloney.² At North Battleford, in April of 1928, "Dr. Hawkins Addressed Crowded House On K.K.K. Organization," and immediately north of the Battlefords, at Meota, Maloney conducted a Klan rally in September.³ East of North Battleford, at Blaine Lake and Leask, a local newspaper reported, on April 25th, that "Large Audiences Hear Maloney" in the Blaine Lake United Church and the Leask town hall.⁴

Following the Klan meetings still farther east, on

¹Unity Courier, April 18 and June 27, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13516, 13723.

²Wilkie Press, March 28, April 18, May 9, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 14072, 13518, 13566.

³North Battleford Optimist, April 12, 1928, and Strassbourg Mountineer, Sept. 27, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13506, 13877.

⁴The Echo (Blaine Lake), April 25, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 14060.

May 9th, the Birch Hills Gazette reported that there "appears to be an energetic campaign to compel every man, woman and child possible in this district to believe in the Klan," and at Tisdale, at the end of March, Maloney held a rally and afterwards conducted an initiation ceremony for new members in the Orange Hall.¹ At the beginning of 1929, R. C. Snelgrove spent a week in the Kinistino district "lecturing on behalf of the Ku Klux Klan," and at the end of the year, Imperial Wizard Rosborough addressed a Klan gathering as far east as Hudson Bay Junction.²

Most of the Klan meetings in Saskatchewan were peaceful and orderly; two exceptions, however, occurred in the northern part of the province, at Meota and Hudson Bay Junction. While speaking at a gathering in Meota in September, 1928, J. J. Maloney "was greeted with a bombardment of over ripe eggs" and, when he left the platform, "the meeting developed into a small-size riot."³ The second incident took place at the meeting conducted by Rosborough in Hudson Bay Junction. The newspaper report was headlined: "Many Are Injured In Fight With K.K.K." When the time had come for the Klansmen to light the cross, some of the townspeople

¹Tisdale Recorder, March 28, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13565, 12183.

²Kinistino Representative, Jan. 22, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13938; Le Patriote de la 'Ouest, Nov. 13, 1929.

³Strassbourg Mountineer, Sept. 27, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13877.

objected. A fight ensued in which rotten eggs were freely exchanged and, before the R. C. M. P. could stop the skirmish, one man was almost blinded and another had his ribs broken.¹

Thus the Ku Klux Klan spread out from Regina and Moose Jaw and established locals throughout the province. Its geographical distribution extended from the United States border in the south to Prince Albert in the north. By 1929, there were at least one hundred and twenty-five local Klans throughout the province, some scattered on the map without apparent rhyme or reason, others strung out in concentrations, single-file fashion, along highways and railroads. The crowds in attendance at Klan rallies, the number of local Klans organized, and the members recruited, all attest to the Saskatchewan Klan's success -- success that was initiated and almost forfeited by Emmons and the Scotts, attained more securely by Hawkins, continued under the grandiloquence of Maloney, and supported and sustained, especially from October of 1927, by the less colourful but constant activity of native provincial leaders such as Rosborough, Puckering, Snelgrove and Grant.

¹Le Patriote de l'Ouest, Nov. 13, 1929.

CHAPTER V

THE KLAN AND THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

1

In the midst of all the controversy and publicity created by the Knights of the Invisible Empire, what was the average person's reaction? What did he think about "White Supremacy," the "protection of white womanhood," the Roman Catholic "menace," and "Gentile economic freedom"? Since the Klan's success in large part depended upon sensational newspaper reports, it was to be expected that the columns of the press would act as a sounding board for public opinion, although whether letters to the editor, newspaper reports or editorials could be said to represent the average Saskatchewan citizen must remain in dispute.

The "Letters to the Editor" column of Saskatchewan dailies and weeklies, supplemented by personal correspondence in the Klan period, serve the useful purpose of reflecting the mental attitudes of Klan members and their sympathizers, their opponents, and of the people striving to remain neutral in the controversy. Space does not permit a detailed and comprehensive study of the letters to the editor as they are too numerous; the following cross-section, however, will

provide some insight into the attitudes and feelings the Saskatchewan populace expressed toward the Ku Klux Klan.

The public was quick to respond to both comment and reporting on the Klan. An instance of the public's response was provided in connection with a sermon by Rev. Dr. W. S. Reid of Saskatoon, in which he "welcomed" the Klansmen to his church. Between the local press and himself, a total of forty letters were received.¹ A spate of letters from Klan supporters flowed to the editor of the Saskatoon Star after an editorial on May 15 referred to the "inherent absurdity of the proposition put forward by the Klan organizers."

The responses to this editorial, letters to the editor generally from supporters, revealed the main aspects of the organization that appealed to them. One such attraction was the ultra-Protestantism and anti-Catholicism of the Klan:

What do you mean, Mr. Editor, by the "inherent absurdity of the proposition"? Do you mean that any plan to defend our rights and privileges is weak and therefore absurd? Or do you mean that the attempt to get Protestants to unite in defence of their principles is an "absurdity"? Or do you mean that any such attempt is doomed to failure because the Roman church is already so cunningly and strongly entrenched?

It is surely apparent from history, ancient and modern, that Rome is the only existing power that today threatens our democratic rights and privileges. It is also apparent from statistical returns of our immigration department that those very rights and privileges are seriously threatened by that same power.²

¹Saskatoon Star, May 26, 1928.

²H. L. Tweed, Phippen, Saskatchewan, to the Editor, Saskatoon Star, May 18, 1928.

Another, a Klansman, looked upon the order as "an old organization [which] has been revived in this province, and seeks the support of every true Protestant."¹

There were similar expressions also from individuals who might well have been members, but were not listed in Klan records. The following was one such expression:

Monday night February 18, surely was an interesting and educational treat . . . when Mr. J. J. Maloney gave a lecture entitled "Romanism." Mr. Maloney, I believe, is one of the best and greatest speakers in Canada, and it was of great interest to hear the plain truth from a man of his experience in the Church of which he spoke and I believe the audience that night felt they were listening to a man who did know what he was talking about. ²

A correspondent of R. B. Bennett thought of the Klan as part of a Protestant "reawakening": "It may interest you to know that the spirit which moved the west in 1896 to repudiation of the Tupper administration over the Manitoba School issue is reawakened in the electorate of protestant faith to-day and determined to remove the Gardiner Government whose truckling to Romish influence has become unbearable."³ This same theme of Roman Catholic influence in government was reiterated in other letters:

¹W. Titley to the Editor, Imperial Review, April 19, 1928, clipping. G.P., p. 13522.

²B. Aune to Ed., Wadena Herald, Feb. 21, 1929, clipping. G.P., p. 13947.

³T. D. Agnew, Prince Albert, to R. B. Bennett, Bennett Papers, p. 25100.

I trust every man will turn out to hear Mr. Maloney, I had that pleasure over the radio once. He will have a real message for all who value our country's future, and our connection with the motherland, and who view with alarm the rapid rise of papal influence in our politics. ¹

A further aspect of the Klan which appealed to some was its emphasis on morality and Christian principles. "As one who is interested in the Klan movement (and not ashamed of it either)," wrote one correspondent, "I think I am correct in stating that the highest hopes of those who are guiding the destiny of this organization is that it may make some small contribution . . . toward a better Canada and the making of brighter and happier homes in the profound belief that 'righteousness exalteth a nation'." ² On another occasion, when Premier Gardiner attacked the Klan, an anonymous letter defending the order was published by the Regina Standard, in which the writer described the Premier as "ungentlemanly and cowardly" for hiding "behind a sect in parliament" and defaming "a society who [sic] has done so much to suppress immorality and vice here with false and malicious charges." ³

One writer, after mentioning that "the Klan stands

¹J. W. Hawtin to Ed., Alsask News, March 1, 1928, clipping. G.P., p. 13465. See also "Ap Maesyfed" to Ed., Western Producer, March 22, 1928.

²L. B. Henn, Macrorie, Sask., to Ed., Saskatoon Star, May 31, 1928.

³March 1, 1928.

foursquare upon its principles, which are for the welfare, protection and prosperity, of all who believe in practical Christianity and unselfish citizenship," found a scriptural basis for supporting the Klan by comparing the organization with an Old Testament prophet and a remnant of Jews who rebuilt the Jewish temple:

We find that Nehemiah in the Old Testament . . . organized a Ku Klux Klan reformation, and restoration movement as shown in the Book of Nehemiah, and had much the same experiences as the Klan is passing through in Saskatchewan. May I suggest that the many Klan readers of the Western Producer Open Forum read and study the first six chapters of the Book of Nehemiah in this connection, and then read the whole book. 1

Another simile couched in biblical language was presented in a letter to the editor of the Imperial Review:

Like the pestilence that walketh in darkness, the progress of the evil is most effectually stayed by drawing around the infected area something to counteract the poison once imbibed, or at least to arrest the contagion. The speaker at Monday's meeting intimated that the Klan is determined to do that very thing. 2

Patriotism was another recurring theme in Klan speeches which struck responsive chords in the residents of Saskatchewan. As one defender of the organization stated: The Klan "desires to strengthen the spirit of true patriotism" and "it aims to make Canada more truly Canadian by focusing attention on important questions of National

¹E. W. Painter, Regina, to the Ed., Western Producer, April 19, 1928.

²G.P., p. 13522, clipping.

Polity."¹ Another person wrote emphatically that "the Klan is here to stay until it has accomplished its object. That is, to keep Canada British, with one school, one language. A United Canada, not for ourselves, but for others."² A correspondent of the Manitoba Free Press claimed: "I have read the literature of the Klan . . . it is in every way an honourable and patriotic organization."³

Other Klansmen were attracted to the organization because it seemed to stand for the enforcement of law and to offer its assistance to that end. In this regard, a Moose Jaw resident suggested to Premier Gardiner that "if there is any circumstance that would justify the existence of a private organization in any country or province, it would be that the recognized authorities did not appear to be keeping their trust with the people." He went on to mention infractions of the law by the Chinese residents of Moose Jaw and the inability of the authorities to cope with the problem.⁴ There was something appealing about the prospect of participating in vigilante activities -- "It aims to

¹Letter to Ed., Saskatoon Star, June 23, 1928.

²A. Freeman, Hanley, Sask., to Ed., Saskatoon Star, July 7, 1928.

³R. F. Harrison, Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask., to Ed., June 16, 1928.

⁴A. L. Davies to Gardiner, Feb. 2, 1928, G.P., p. 12066.

strengthen the hands of all whose duty it is to maintain law and order," one Klansman explained.¹ Another member wrote threateningly: "As the Klan is not a political organization, any person, council, institution or business which does things not in accord with the law, honor, patriotism and the good and welfare of the citizens of the province of Saskatchewan will, when the Klan has the facts, be exposed with alacrity so that the public may know."²

One more aspect of the Klan which appealed to some people was brought out in reply to a letter from "A Joiner Who Quit," a former Klansman who withdrew from the order. He had signed his name as "Nemo".³

We observe that Nemo asks this question, "Has the K.K.K. matter rendered us any specific value?" The intended insinuation . . . was that it had not, but alas, in the very next sentence he asserts, "We had a good run and lots of fun for our \$10." May I suggest, sir, that there was something of real value that Nemo got out of the K.K.K.⁴

Inactivity and boredom had spawned the Klan after the Civil War, and the same atmosphere, it seems, helped to make the movement popular across the rural areas of America. A former member confided that he enjoyed listening to the "whispering" among the townspeople the day after the burning

¹Letter to the Ed., Saskatoon Star, June 23, 1928.

²Letter to the Ed., Manitoba Free Press, June 16, 1928.

³Saskatoon Star, May 28, 1928.

⁴Letter to Ed., ibid., May 31, 1928.

of a fiery cross. "The Klan paraded through catholic cemeteries," he claimed, "and threw fear into Roman Catholic immigrants."¹

In short, the supporters of the Klan, as revealed in letters to the editors of Saskatchewan newspapers, were attracted by those themes stressed by organizers and lecturers: anti-Catholicism, moralism, patriotism, law and order. Conspicuous by their absence, however, were references to white supremacy, "Gentile economic freedom," and the protection of white womanhood -- issues which the American organizers frequently mentioned but, apparently, created little interest in Saskatchewan.

Those who completely opposed the Klan also made good use of the written word in letters to the editors of the provincial press, and attacked the organization from a variety of angles. Some could not disassociate the Saskatchewan order from the atrocities perpetrated by the Klan in the United States:

And this is the institution "that is going to save the situation" for British Canadians. If we are called upon to save the situation let us do it in a British way, by observing British justice, law and order, not by acts of terrorism Canada is too progressive and too British to even consider such reactionary stuff. ²

When Klan organizers tried to point out that the Saskatchewan

¹Interview with former member of Amulet Klan, Aug. 7, 1967.

²Letter to Ed., Western Producer, Sept. 20, 1928.

Klan had no connection with other Klans in North America, opponents were quick to question the wisdom of adopting the same name: "Must not the general public assume that with the name and the organizers they have also imported the practices that made the Klan so notorious in the states?"¹ The identical point was made by another correspondent: "Let me say, I know nothing of the Ku Klux Klan of Canada. But, I wonder why its sponsors have chosen a name that has odious memories clinging to it!"²

More specific and more pertinent to the Klan in Saskatchewan, opponents attacked the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of the organization. One correspondent of Premier Gardiner observed that Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants had lived in harmony until "these agitators came to disturb peaceful citizens." He was confident, however, that there were "too many broad-minded people in this country to be alarmed by them."³ This divisiveness that the Klan introduced and exacerbated in some communities puzzled one of the pioneers who had experienced the "levelling" process of the frontier and war:

¹F. J. Lange, M. A., Battleford, Sask., to Ed., Saskatoon Star, May 1, 1928.

²Letter to Ed., ibid., April 7, 1928.

³J. D. Grant to Gardiner, Feb. 2, 1928, G.P., p. 12053.

I have lived here 23 years. During this length of time I have got acquainted with many of the residents of Melfort and hold them in high esteem. During the war we did some Red Cross work together. Of different nationalities, different creeds, we were united workers for the same cause and we found the people of Melfort wonderful. We cannot therefore possibly understand how this mishap has taken place and would like it explained.

Let us therefore respect one another's modes of worship, one another's creeds, and make it a duty to discourage any organization that may cause dissensions among us. The cross is the ensign of all Christianity, why burn it? 1

One Catholic in the Yorkton area wrote in the same vein: he spoke highly of his Protestant neighbours, but questioned the wisdom of allowing a bigot like Maloney to speak "unbridled" on anti-catholic topics and to allow him the freedom of the city-hall.²

Others, it seems, opposed the Klan because they were convinced that the Klan was really a political instrument in disguise, out to defeat the Liberal Government. The secretary of the local Provincial Liberal Association at Wapella was of this opinion: "We are agreed here that this K.K.K. organization are [sic] a gang of rogues out for the express purpose of over throwing the Liberal government of this province and at the same time making for themselves alot [sic] of easy money."³ In a letter to the Premier, a Liberal

¹Paulette Bergot-Legars, Saint Brieux, to Ed., Melfort Journal, May 29, 1928, clipping. G.P., p. 13632.

²E. A. O'Reilly to Ed., Yorkton Enterprise, March 20, 1928, clipping. G.P., p. 13479.

³R. Hall to Gardiner, May 14, 1928, G.P., p. 12221.

party supporter pointed out that the Klan organizers did not spend much of their time in the Catholic centres of the province and concluded that "their object was not to convert catholics it was to turn people on the Government."¹

Not all the Klan's opponents dwelt on this negative aspect of the order's interest in politics; many pointed to its pro-Conservatism:

We see . . . in reports of recent addresses by Klan speakers and in pamphlets published by the Klan, and this one great keynote booms through them all: "down with the Liberal party."

The Klan started out to be the Protestant lion of God, to fight that awful bad man, the pope, and now it has been turned into a battering ram to open the doors of office for Dr. J. T. M. Anderson and his friends!

The writer went on to accuse Dr. Anderson of conspiring with the Klan to defeat the Government, concluding with the observation that "Canada has had some very astute politicians and they have at times devised some very clever schemes for getting into office, but this surely beats them all by a mile."²

The logic expressed in some of the Klan speeches was also assailed in the columns of the press. An agnostic wrote that he "did not like the speaker's theology, biology or his logic." The speaker, he asserted, "seemed to think that the white race (excepting the Jews) was God's chosen people,

¹W. R. Shepherdson to Gardiner, Feb. 1, 1928, G.P., p. 12048.

²F. J. Lange, M. A., to Ed., Saskatoon Star, May 18, 1928.

and although brown, yellow and black people might be all right [sic] to associate with in the kingdom of heaven, they ought to keep out of America." He continued:

If his theology was shaky, his biology was a washout. Everybody outside of the United States Bible Belt knows that the various races are the product of evolution, just as the various horses and cattle are products of evolution. The Nordics, and the Slavs, and the Asiatics, and the Negroes, and the Jews were not made as separate races by God, any more than the Clydesdales and Percherons, and Plymouth Rocks, and Rhode Island Reds, and Yorkshire Sows were made by God.

He concluded with the following observation:

The Cross is the basis of Christianity whether from Rome or Tennessee, and whereas the Klansman is so fond of the Cross that he decorates his nightshirt with it, it is like a red rag to a bull if he sees it in a school where he did not put it. Surely if there is one thing above all others that our Christian brethren ought not to fight about, it is the sacred emblem which is the basis of all their beliefs. ¹

Another correspondent was not as temperate in expressing criticism of Klan speeches. He treated with sarcasm such statements as: "Some Catholics have given considerable help to unite several Protestant denominations, hoping that they . . . would kill themselves in fighting for unity" and "Socrates and Plato, under the oppression of the Church developed the greatest philosophical minds that history knows." But in answering the assertion that Protestants maintained their faith because their mothers awakened them on Sunday morning, bathed and rushed them off to Sunday School, the writer exhibited a virulence characteristic of

¹"Agnostic" to Ed., Western Producer, July 5, 1928.

the Klan:

Here is why you are Protestant: King Henry VIII, . . . anxious to divorce his wife and marry the younger and more attractive Anne Boleyn, asked Pope Leo X to annul the marriage. The Pope refused to sanction the dirty work. Henry broke away from Rome seized the Church's wealth and joined the other potentate north of his kingdom. The custom was then, when ruler changed all had to change; thus we had the birth of the English Church. This check on lust and Henry's greediness is responsible for your present faith, not the Sunday bath forced upon you by your mother. Nothing to be proud of; rather humiliating. ¹

It would seem, then, that those who expressed their opposition to the Klan in the columns of the press did not accept at face value the Klan's 'virtuous' promotion of Christianity, patriotism, public morality and racial purity, but rejected this as a facade for less admirable attitudes and purposes -- as an attempt to fleece the people of the province by stirring up prejudice and hate, an organization ostensibly christian but in reality a political instrument.

Other people attempted, and it seems with difficulty, to take a neutral position in the controversy and endeavored to find underlying reasons for the Klan's success in the province. "The question the government should ask, and seek to answer, is 'Why should the K.K.K. thrive, or even put forth roots in the Province of Saskatchewan?'" suggested a reader of the Western Producer. She went on to diagnose the problem as being a loss of confidence by the people in "constituted authority":

¹J. Tallini, Perdue, Sask., to Ed., Saskatoon Star, June 30, 1928.

In short a sense of injustice, a grievance real or fancied, must provide nourishment for their growth. The existence of such organizations is simply a symptom of diseased conditions in state or national life.¹

A school inspector and friend of Premier Gardiner informed him that:

As far as I can judge . . . from discussion I hear two impressions prevail in regard to the Saskatchewan Government. One is that Roman Catholic influence is too great and the other is that for political reasons the law is not being enforced. That is why the Klan is flourishing and some real good Protestant Liberals are members

I'm no politician . . . and I have every confidence in you but I think it would do good if you'd make a good strong speech somewhere assuring the people that all is well with the Public School and that the law is and will be enforced without fear or favour.²

And a friend of Malcolm McLean, Liberal M. P. for Melfort, reported that the Klan was advancing in the Wadena area, that it dissociates itself from all violence and states its object to be the elimination of Roman Catholics from all civil offices. He intimated that there was some justification for anti-catholic sentiment as "the immediate district has been literally loaded up with Roman Catholic mid-Europeans by the C. N. R., land agents and other means."³

The Ku Klux Klan was an issue upon which few people could be neutral -- one was either for or against it -- and

¹Emma Wilson, New Westminster, B. C., to Ed., Western Producer, Feb. 23, 1928.

²A. J. McCulloch to Gardiner, March 18, 1928, G.P., p. 12174.

³D. J. Munro to McLean, Feb. 22, 1928, G.P., p. 12153; see G.P., pp. 12063, 12260, for other correspondence expressing similar opinions.

consequently the columns of the press were most used by individuals who felt strongly either way. Those who tried to be neutral usually ended up colouring their remarks one way or the other.

2

Whether editors represented the public response to the Klan as well as writers of letters to the editor may be open to question. They were, however, more influential in the formation of public opinion. Only a few newspapers in Saskatchewan expressed editorial approval of the Ku Klux Klan, but many reported its numerous gatherings sympathetically, a development which probably had a greater effect on the populace than candid editorial comment. The Kerrobert Citizen made its policy plain:

As we indicate in our report of the Ku Klux Klan meeting, we were "agreeably disappointed" at the entire absence of any very radical utterance, such as we had been led to expect from previous information or misinformation regarding this organization, and we quite frankly state it is our belief that the Klan has been grossly misrepresented. We found that the major principles propounded were, in the main, such as we had always held . . . and to this extent we approve of the order. ¹

Likewise, the Moose Jaw Merchants Weekly:

Many may question the necessity for its existence, others may have a dislike for some of its objects. But up to the present it has shown no inclination to create disturbance or trouble, nor has it yet done anything to

¹March 28, 1928, clipping. G.P., p. 14078.

breach constitutional methods or principles. Until it does, it is surely only fair to suspend judgement, and allow it to justify its existence and its work. ¹

Other weeklies voiced their approval of the organization indirectly. The Esterhazy Observer, for example, wondered why

the Provincial government should be in such a furore against the K.K.K. if all their meetings were conducted as reasonably as that at Esterhazy; but it will be remembered that when Premier Gardiner attended the federal meetings in the campaign of 1921, Mr. Gardiner warned the voters of the grave danger of voting for Progressive candidates who were communistic if not "Red" and quite unconstitutional if not treasonable. Everything that does not run on all fours with Mr. Gardiner's view is very gravely wrong, so that his extreme views on the K.K.K. are quite understandable and must be taken with a quantity of salt. ²

A similar approach was taken by the North Battleford Optimist in reporting a speech by Premier Gardiner. The Premier, it asserted, was out to "damn the Klan with the most merciless criticism of which he is capable"; it would be advisable, however, "to examine Mr. Gardiner's purposes before accepting his argument in toto [sic]" as he was trying to link the Klan to the Conservative party. ³

Although they did not express editorial approval of the Klan, the newspapers carrying sympathetic reports of its activities rendered the order invaluable service. For example, the Kinistino Representative carried a report of a

¹March 9, 1928, ibid., p. 13469.

²July 12, 1928, ibid., p. 13785.

³June 21, 1928, ibid., p. 13707.

Klan speech liberally sprinkled with superlatives: "Mr. Snelgrove excelled in oratory," "His convincing and winning way has won for him a place in the hearts of his audience never to be forgotten," "his magnificent reference to the Open Bible," and everyone should hear him for "his lecture is a marvel."¹ Other local newspapers used this same approach of praising the speaker and his delivery while not quite openly endorsing the Klan: The Qu'Appelle Progress observed that "Mr. Hawkins is a large man, physically and mentally, easy on eyes and ears, and gives one an immediate impression of earnestness and sincerity. He is evidently himself deeply impressed with the vital importance of what he has to say";² the Nokomis Times reported that Puckering "gave a very fine speech, which was not accompanied by the usual 'mud-slinging' so much indulged in of late by other speakers on similar topics" (Premier Gardiner had just begun a speaking tour of the province denouncing the Klan) and hoped that he "may be assured of a crowded house should he again speak at Nokomis";³ and the Hanley Herald described a Klan meeting in this guarded, and not unapproving fashion:

Dr. J. H. Hawkins representative of the Ku Klux Klan gave a very interesting and impressive address . . . to a very large and appreciative audience in the Hanley theatre Enough to say, is, that if

¹Dec. 25, 1928, ibid., p. 13930.

²July 5, 1928, ibid., p. 13775.

³May 31, 1928, ibid., p. 13643.

conditions in the province are such as the speaker describes them to be, all who are interested in the prosperity and welfare of our country should be "up and doing." ¹

Similarly, some reports reserved their praise for the audience and organization of the meeting. "It was a most orderly crowd," commented one local newspaper, "and many remarked that instead of being in an open air demonstration one almost realized they were in a church for everything was carried on reverently." The report continued: R. C. Snelgrove gave a "lengthy and interesting address receiving many applauses but no interruptions," the audience listened to Dr. Hawkins with "rapt" attention, "the gathering with their heads uncovered rose to their feet and sang feelingly 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross'," and "the demonstration gave evidence that the K.K.K. was of great strength in the north part of Saskatchewan."² Again, in a report by the Melfort Journal, a Klan rally was described as "one of the most spectacular and interesting affairs ever held in Melfort, or even in the Carrot River Valley," "the whole arrangement was very efficiently organized," and "at least 80 per cent of the audience were in sympathy with the movement and even those who do not favour this organization did not have a great deal to take objection to."³

¹March 1, 1928, ibid., p. 13452.

²Kinistino Representative, May 29, 1928, ibid., p. 13631.

³May 29, 1928, ibid., p. 13633.

Another type of report concentrated its approval on the Klan's political goals. In an article entitled, "Smash That Monopoly," the Regina Standard, a daily newspaper, deplored the fact that the great Klan rally in Regina on February 16, 1928, could not be broadcasted by radio to the rest of the province as "the interest throughout the country was tremendous." Who was to blame? Not the Klansmen -- "they were prepared to pay for the whole cost beforehand and they seemingly are not lacking in the funds to pay everything they undertake." Ultimately, the blame was laid at the door of the government and the Leader broadcasting station. The thing to do, urged the editorial, was to make it impossible for this to occur again because "it may be that the next great meeting . . . will be a Progressive or Conservative gathering." Therefore, as the Klan revealed this condition to the public, "they will be fully justified in initiating the movement to smash that air monopoly. It is a perfectly legitimate undertaking."¹

Some of the weeklies also took advantage of the Klan's anti-Liberal bias. The Broadview Express commented on the organization's introduction to Broadview:

¹March 1, 1928; see the Standard, Feb. 23 and March 1, for a verbatim report of the Klan rally in Regina on Feb. 16. Another city newspaper, The Regina Daily Star, also gave the Klan much favourable publicity -- too profuse to document here; however, I have quoted extensively from the Star throughout this study.

The political soil in town is ripe for seeding. A number of grits are "fed-up" with the brand of menu being put out from Regina. An organization like the K.K.K. will no doubt receive a large following in Broadview. The hall was well filled and the speaker applauded many times. The government of Saskatchewan should take heed to "the handwriting on the wall."

Two weeks later, the Express reported another meeting of the Klan in Broadview and stated:

Regardless of a person's political opinion, there is a certain amount of facts given at these meetings which a person cannot entirely ignore and which seem to appeal to a large number of people. It's about time the government stopped paddling in dangerous waters. 1

And the Rocanville Record expressed agreement with the Klansmen by insinuating that Emmons was on the Liberal payroll:

The recent trial of . . . Emmons at Regina on a charge of misappropriating funds of the Ku Klux Klan, was the biggest farce as far as a court case was concerned we ever heard of, and the magistrate who sat on the case should be fired P. D. Q. But he won't be, of course, he was apparently following instructions. 2

The editorial policy of most of the province's large daily newspapers was clearly Liberally biased and, consequently, anti-Klan,³ with the Regina Standard and Star as possibly the only exceptions. At least two of the smaller weekly newspapers belonged in this category: Premier Gardiner expressed his appreciation to the editor and publisher of the local Craik newspaper for "the very efficient service rendered to the Party and the Government by your paper

¹May 10, 24, clippings; G.P., pp. 13570, 13619.

²May 11, 1928, ibid., p. 13589.

³Kyba, p. 12; Unger, pp. 83-85.

during the recent by-election"; and the editor of Le Patriote sought direction from Gardiner as to what the newspaper's "attitude must be for the next election and what campaign to start,"¹ a request which the Klan organizers, had they known of it, would have exploited with relish.

One method of combating the Klan, employed by the larger papers, was to give comprehensive coverage to reports of criminal acts committed by the United States' Klan. The Regina Leader, for example, carried the following headlines: "Klan Is Blamed For Terrorism," April 10, 1928; "Says He Saw Klan Burn Men," April 11th; and "Klan Is Flayed By U. S. Court For Outrages" and "Held To Be Responsible For Riots, Bloodshed And Burning Of Man Alive," April 14th; The Moose Jaw Evening Times carried headlines to the same effect: "Imperial Wizard And Others Charged With Murder Of Atlanta Attorney," "Orders Issued By Ohio Klan Chief To Slay," "Organized To Burn Churches, To Bomb and Assassinate," and "Political Corruption In Indiana."² In this regard, the Saskatoon Star considered "it inherently absurd that a group of visitors from the United States should have undertaken to organize . . . an order bearing a name with such odious and disgraceful association as the Ku Klux Klan."³

Some editors made their opposition to the Klan

¹Cited in Unger, p. 85.

²April 3, 10, 1928, and Sept. 10, 1927.

³May 18, 1928.

explicit. "It will be noted that the Klan as styled the 'Invisible Empire'," stated an editorial in the Lashburn Comet, "and as one of the most common forms of invisibility is darkness, perhaps its title is rather more than ordinarily applicable, for the past record of this organization is more suggestive of the 'powers of darkness' than of the kingdom of light."¹ In a similar tone and attitude, the editor of the Weekly Climax commented:

Canada has no place or need of any paid soap box orators from any organization in the U. S. A. to tell us how to run this country Canada has no place for any organization that endeavors to stir up either racial or religious strife; nor do we think it desirable that any Imperial Wizard or Lizard should have a dominating influence on the politics of this country. ²

At least two weeklies, initially neutral or favourable disposed towards the organization later changed their policies and became outspoken opponents. The Birch Hills Gazette began rather cautiously: "We must admit being doubtful of Mr. Maloney's fitness to properly expound the true Protestant cause but we are looking forward to his visit . . . with keen anticipation" as "we still have an open mind and will welcome sincerely any explanation of the Protestant attitude in these circumstances." Two weeks later, March 7, 1928, the Gazette carried a report of Maloney's meeting in which it critically analyzed his homiletics and concluded

¹June 13, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13684.

²Aug. 2, 1928, ibid., p. 13853.

with the following:

The Klan was upheld as a Protestant institution. Grant that it may not be used for the suppression of freedom, to put blind fear into the minds of men, or to inflict injustice or atrocity on men who do not wish to fall down and worship before every new idol which may be set up.

However, by April 25th its policy had crystallized into outright antagonism: "We are all interested in the Klan." read the editorial, "So far as Saskatchewan is concerned, it seems to be an extreme prejudice against a feared Papal domination and a potential menace to non-Catholics who cannot see any reason to be violently protestant." It continued:

Join the Klan if you will. But do not claim to be Christian. You know well that Jesus would not be a Klansman. Let it be clearly understood that those who follow the Klan are not following Jesus. 1

The reversal in policy of the Imperial Review can probably be attributed to a change of management that occurred in 1928.² Its first reaction was most favourable: "To listen to Mr. Maloney talk for two hours is a real pleasure" and "there have always been the Luthers and the Maloneys to tell us that we have outgrown the old forms." But two months later, Maloney's speeches were described as being coloured by "self-glorification" and "nauseating" because he constantly

¹Feb. 22, March 7, April 25, 1928, ibid., pp. 13416, 13468, 14062.

²Historical Directory of Saskatchewan Newspapers, 1878-1950 (Saskatoon: Office of the Saskatchewan Archives, 1951), p. 7.

referred to sex. In conclusion, the editor thought that "every true Protestant must feel a sense of shame that encouragement has been given to such expression on a public platform."¹

Other newspapers maintained a neutral attitude in the controversy, some neither criticizing nor praising the Klan and others criticizing both the order and its chief antagonist, the Liberal Government. It is not surprising to find more neutrality among editorials than among letters to the editor. Many an editor has traditionally taken the position of the Rosetown Eagle on controversial issues: "No matter what the editor's personal views are they have never been forced upon the public in these columns These columns are neutral and it is our purpose to keep them so."² Similar expressions could be found in the Western Producer,³ the Swift Current Herald,⁴ the Swift Current Sun,⁵ The Wadena Herald,⁶ and the Wilkie Press.⁷

¹Sept. 6, Nov. 29, 1928, clipping, G.P., pp. 13867, 13926. See also Imperial Review for May 9 and 16, 1929, G.P., pp. 13969, 13972.

²June 21, 1928, ibid., p. 13709.

³Nov. 3, 1927, Feb. 10 and March 15, 1928.

⁴May 17 and June 28, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13607, 13726.

⁵May 29, 1928, ibid., p. 13630.

⁶June 14, 1928, Jan. 31 and Feb. 28, 1929, ibid., pp. 13687, 13940, 13951.

⁷April 18, 1928, ibid., p. 13519.

No single reason seems to explain editorial attitudes adopted to the Klan. It would appear however, that the larger city papers and rural weeklies that leaned towards the Liberal party were anti-Klan; while the smaller city dailies, e.g., Swift Current papers, and the larger newspapers partial to the Progressive movement, for instance, the Western Producer, endeavored to be neutral. Conservative papers, such as The Regina Star and Kerrobert Citizen, openly approved of the order, and many of the rural weeklies were most sympathetic. In short, it seems that the attitudes the press adopted towards the Ku Klux Klan was, by and large, determined by their political bias. Whether some further factors would appear in an analysis of the clientele served by the various papers is impossible to discover for lack of appropriate sources.

The Ku Klux Klan inevitably became an issue of debate on the pages of the press throughout the province; its opponents pointing to the violence and lawlessness of the United States' Klan as an example of what might happen in Saskatchewan, and its members and sympathizers arguing that there had never been "a single act of lawlessness committed by a Klan in Saskatchewan, and what is reported to have happened in the United States has no more connection with the organization here than the flood of Bible days with the

high waters of the Mississippi in 1927."¹ Furthermore, according to its followers, the Klan was a Christian and patriotic order dedicated to the preservation of the Protestant faith in Saskatchewan, an organization that was a dire necessity in the context of Roman Catholic dominance over the provincial and federal Liberal Governments. Opponents, however, thought of this aspect of the Klan as more of a front for unscrupulous organizers and ambitious politicians. Whatever the balance of support or opposition in the province at large, the debate in the press indicated keen interest in and considerable sympathy for the Saskatchewan Klan among readers and editors. Under such circumstances the nature of Klan organization, the character of the leadership and the committed membership would be vital to the continued and increased public impact of the order in Saskatchewan.

¹Statement by Imperial Wizard Rosborough reported in Montreal Gazette, July 9, 1928.

CHAPTER VI

PREPARATION FOR BATTLE

1

The atmosphere of excitement and controversy created by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was unprecedented in Saskatchewan history -- public opinion was aroused and divided as never before; not only over the issues it raised and emphasized, but also over Klan organization. Many people who did not formally join the Klan did so in spirit, sympathizing with its promotion of certain questions and attitudes. But in order for the Klan to capitalize on these sentiments, and to reach its political objectives, it had to have an efficient organization with sufficient and capable leadership. The ability and character of leading Klan organizers in Saskatchewan, men from outside the province, have been discussed. However, the paucity of material prohibits a detailed examination of the organizers and officials recruited in Saskatchewan; but there is enough material to afford a cursory view of a number of them, and to suggest their general character and ability.

Charles H. Puckering joined the Klan at Moose Jaw in 1927 and soon became Emmon's secretary, hired at the rate

of thirty-five dollars a week.¹ In a short time, he was promoted from his job as secretary to that of an organizer and promised a one dollar commission for every new member brought into the fold. After Emmons' departure, he became an organizer and lecturer in Saskatchewan and Manitoba for the reorganized Klan, and later, after Hawkins left, the "director of extension" for the Saskatchewan Klan.²

Puckering was not without ability and consequently had no trouble, it seems, gaining employment after the Klan's decline. In 1932, he returned to Moose Jaw and became manager of Western Grist Mills, accountant in 1933, and secretary-treasurer in 1934.³ In 1935, he became secretary of National Mills and was elected to Moose Jaw City Council two years later.⁴

Although R. C. Snelgrove is not listed in the Regina Klan membership, he joined the Klan during 1927 and became an organizer before the end of the year.⁵ He was an ex-member of the 28th Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force,⁶ and formerly employed by the C. N. R. as a brakeman. Ac-

¹Transcript of Trial, G.P., p. 12584.

²Regina Leader, May 10, 11, 1928; Kerrobert Citizen, April 25, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13526.

³Henderson's Moose Jaw Directory 1932-1934.

⁴Ibid., 1935; Moose Jaw Times-Herald, Nov. 23, 1937, p.5.

⁵Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 19, 1927.

⁶Edmonton Journal, Nov. 7, 1929; Henderson's Regina Directory 1927.

according to the Regina Star, he was a "prominent Liberal, a member of the Young Liberals and of the Liberal executive," and "of United Loyalist stock."¹ He was a former member of the Dominion Council of the Great War Veterans Association and secretary of the Railway Trainmen's Brotherhood.²

Daniel Carlyle Grant joined the Klan during the first few months of Emmons' salesmanship in Moose Jaw, where he was employed as an operator by the Street Railway.³

When Hawkins came to Moose Jaw and assumed the position of chief organizer for the Klan, he enlisted Grant as an organizer and sent him as a Klan missionary to Manitoba. He was known in labour circles as "spark plug," reported the Manitoba Free Press in a special dispatch from Moose Jaw, and "to his associates here he at times displayed a religious streak."⁴

After his adventures in Saskatchewan and Manitoba with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Grant settled in Weyburn and became involved with the C. C. F., in fact as campaign manager for T. C. Douglas in the federal election of 1935.⁵ His organizing abilities were such that Liberal

¹Regina Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1928.

²Ibid.

³Henderson's Moose Jaw Directory 1927.

⁴Oct. 19, 1928.

⁵R. Schultz to Gardiner, Dec. 1, 1939, G.P., p.

organizers would gladly have seen him out of the province -- in fact, one Liberal organizer suggested that Gardiner arrange for his transfer to the east and then have him brought back later to "work against the C. C. F. party in the next Provincial Election."¹ Gardiner himself, a good judge of organizing talent, expressed a healthy respect for Grant's work, and even suggested that the Liberal organization consider the possibility of using Grant itself.² The Klan, apparently, had given him his apprenticeship.

The Klan organizers recruited in Saskatchewan, for whom biographical data exist, were men of above average ability in leadership and public speaking and, apparently, of good and honest character. The less prominent organizers also seem to fit into this category: James A. Balfour of Balcarres was a Worshipful Master of the Loyal Orange Lodge and a man of some means as he provided five hundred dollars bail for Snelgrove;³ Thomas H. Pakenham was formerly chief of police at Melville;⁴ and Thomas Bunting, it seems, was an ordained minister.

Similar observations can be made about the lecturers

¹Ibid.

²Gardiner to Schultz, Dec. 6, 1939, G.P., p. 43977.

³Record of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, March 3-4, 1926; Saskatoon Phoenix, July 25, 1928.

⁴Regina Leader, July 3, 4, 1928.

employed by the Klan. Dr. W. D. Cowan, Conservative M. P. for Regina and Long Lake in 1917-1921 and 1930-1935 respectively, was described by Premier Gardiner in 1928 as the chief Klan speaker in Regina and Moose Jaw;¹ and John Evans, Progressive M. P. for Saskatoon and Rosetown, addressed a Klan meeting at Saskatoon in September, 1927.² Two ministers were among the most prominent Klan lecturers in the province: Rev. S. P. Rondeau, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Saskatchewan,³ spoke at Klan meetings at various places in the province, using the school issue as his special theme;⁴ and Rev. T. J. Hind, pastor of the largest Baptist Church in Moose Jaw, addressed Klan rallies at Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, and Vantage.⁵ Other reports mentioned ministers as guest speakers at gatherings of the Klan: the Indian Head News reported on March 21, 1929, that Rev. Dr. Keeton, United Church minister at Qu'Appelle, had addressed a Klan banquet and "pointed his friends to the example of the life of Christ"; and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix carried a report on April 11, 1929, of a Klan social at Macrorie, addressed by

¹The Courier, Regina, June 6, 1928, G.P., p. 13669; see also Regina Leader, May 17, 1928.

²The Reporter, Feb. 23, 1929, G.P., p. 12935.

³Minutes of the Fourteenth Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Nov. 2-5, 1920, p. 3.

⁴For example, see Regina Leader, July 20, Moose Jaw Evening Times, July 21, 1928, and Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Jan. 11, 1929.

⁵Moose Jaw Evening Times, June 8, 1927; Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Jan. 11, 1929; and Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 30, 1929.

Rev. L. B. Henn "who opened the program with a brief address in which he stressed the fundamental principles of the organization."

Similarly, the officials of the Klan, from the provincial headquarters to the locals scattered throughout the province, appear to have been mostly respectable middle-class citizens: a few professionals, on the one hand, and skilled tradesmen on the other, but the bulk from the occupations of the lower middle class. Imperial Wizard Rosborough was a chartered accountant; his secretary, Imperial Kligrapp Charles H. Ellis, was an operator with Canadian National Telegraphs and later became a clerk with the Provincial Government.¹ The Exalted Cyclopes and Kligrapps² for the main centres were as follows: Regina, a minister, Rev. William Surman of Cameron Memorial Baptist Church, and a salesman with radio station C H W C, Arthur J. Balfour;³ Moose Jaw, an optician, Frederick S. J. Ivay, and a clerk, John R. Cowan;⁴ and Saskatoon, a carpenter, B. H. Johnston, and a C. N. R. brakeman, William J. Thompson. Of the remaining one hundred and sixty-eight Klan officials in the other locals, twenty-three can be identified: eleven muni-

¹Henderson's Regina Directory 1927-1931.

²See Appendix for complete list.

³Henderson's Regina Directory 1927-1931.

⁴Ibid., 1928.

cipal officials, comprising five village overseers and one secretary-treasurer who were Exalted Cyclopes, one secretary-treasurer who was a Kligrapp, three town Mayors who were Exalted Cyclopes, and one town clerk who was a Kligrapp;¹ five ministers, three doctors, a farmer, an elevator agent, a garageman, and a teacher.²

A similar variety of occupations was represented in the rank and file of the organization. It may be assumed that the membership of the Klan in Saskatchewan consisted largely of farmers because the province was predominantly rural and the majority of locals were in villages and small towns. Unfortunately, no membership lists are available to facilitate analysis of rural affiliation. An analysis of membership in the cities, however, might prove both interesting and significant.

The members of the Regina Klan were engaged in the following vocations: building trades -- six labourers, four carpenters, two builders, and one bricklayer, a plumber, and painter; the railroad (all C. N. R. employees) -- two labourers, one engineer, roadmaster, brakeman, switchman, car repairman, porter, checker, and trainman; agriculture -- three Saskatchewan Wheat Pool employees, a retired farmer,

¹See Appendix and Directory of Rural and Urban Municipal Officials, 1927-1929, Saskatchewan Archives, Regina.

²Three of the latter group were identified by former residents of the districts and the other, a teacher, by E. Gfroerer in a letter to Gardiner, G.P., p. 12314.

an elevator agent, and one employee from the Egg and Poultry Pool, and the Northside Hay and Feed Company; commercial enterprises -- a life insurance agent, an employee of Farm Sales agency, an agent for Delaval Separators, a proprietor of fish and chips outlet, a grocer, and three automobile, real estate, and concrete products salesmen; service industries -- an automobile mechanic foreman, four truck drivers, two automobile mechanics, a tire repairman, a service station attendant, a jeweller, a hotel proprietor, a barber, and a janitor; manufacturing -- six employees of Western Manufacturing Company and four employees of Imperial Oil; and general -- a baker, a student, and a housewife.¹ Thus, it can safely be said that the majority of those responding to the initial call of the Klan in Regina were of the social level of artisans and clerks, with a few entrepreneurs, mostly petty, and a few unskilled workers thrown in.

In the Klan at large in the province, other groups were also well represented; in addition to at least twenty clergymen and ten politicians,² there were at least seventy-five municipal officials in the ranks of the Klan. The breakdown of the latter group is as follows: eight Mayors, eleven village overseers, seven reeves, twelve secretary-treasurers, and thirty-seven councillors. Over fifty percent

¹G.P., p. 12480.

²For discussion of Politics and Religion see Chapters VII, VIII and IX.

of the Klansmen identified as municipal officials held positions of authority on their respective councils, a fact of rather strategic importance.¹ The professions were also represented: at least three Justices of the Peace, two doctors, a lawyer and a teacher.²

For the Klan as a whole, however, there exists no comprehensive lists to work from, and those identified in reports would likely be persons of some standing like the foregoing. Nevertheless, the individual who wrote a letter to the editor of the Western Producer was not exaggerating when he asserted that the Klan's "membership covers a large range of classes . . . and includes members of parliament, lawyers, doctors, merchants, commercial travellers, railway men of all ranks, mechanics, directors of the United farmers,

¹This information has been derived from a comparison of Klan membership lists and the Directory of Rural and Urban Municipal Officials, 1927-1929.

²All three J. P.'s were involved in cases on the school question: at Pontiox, J. F. Bryant successfully defended protestant parents who refused to send their children to a predominantly catholic public school before J. P.'s R. J. Hilling and L. R. Bouchard, both members of the Pontiox Klan; and at Verwood, Wesley D. Gunson, J. P., involved in a case against the separate school for exceeding the time allowed for the teaching of French, was accused of being a Klansman and therefore unfit to judge the case. Gunson's name appears in the Verwood Klan membership list. See The Western Freedman, April 5, 1928, G.P., p. 12855, and The Regina Leader, July 19, 1928. Dr. I. W. Bennett and Dr. A. Simpson were members, respectively, of the Macrorie and Maple Creek Klans. The Lawyer was Lawson Hunter of Moose Jaw and the teacher, Mr. McKay of Melfort. See letter to L. A. Hunter from G. L. Fowler, Feb. 17, 1927, G.P., p. 12655; also Melfort Journal and Kinistino Representative, May 29, 1928, clippings, G.P., pp. 13631-13633.

delegates of the Pool, many farmers and the common laborers."¹

Estimates of the strength of Klan membership ranged between ten and fifty thousand; the newspapers most frequently reported the Klan's claims of forty thousand. Premier Gardiner was certain that thirteen thousand members had been recruited when Emmons and the Scotts left in September, 1927. A cautious estimate, therefore, would seem to be at least twenty-five thousand members at the zenith of the Klan's success. In addition to the bona fide members, as one student of the Klan phenomenon observed in assessing its strength in the United States,

there were undoubtedly hundreds of other . . . "Klansmen in spirit." For, as one newspaper editorial pointed out, "Klanism is a state of mind. A man does not have to belong, wear the regalia and subscribe to the formal teachings if he has in him the suspicion and hostility emanating from religious and racial bigotry." ²

Thus in the summer of 1928, the Ku Klux Klan cause was being promoted by capable and influential members of Saskatchewan society -- drawn largely from the professions, municipal officials, Members of Parliament, office workers, artisans and entrepreneurs. It had an avenue into every section of provincial life, with the exception, of course, of those groups it was attacking. Efficient leadership and influential members, however, were not the Klan's only assets

¹Nov. 17, 1927.

²Davis, p. 62.

at this time; it also had the added facility of an organization well-structured for the battle it was waging.

2

The organization which was introduced into Saskatchewan in early 1927 was an American importation adapted to the Canadian environment. This was evident in the official "Ku Klux Creed":

Recognizing our relation to the Government of the British Empire, the supremacy of its constitution and the constitutional laws thereof, we shall ever be devoted to the sublime principles of a pure patriotism and valiant in the defense of its ideals and institutions. ¹

What the Klan meant by this, however, had little to do with political constitutions as such. Its objects and purposes were to unite all white persons, Gentiles and Protestants, who owe no "conflicting allegiance of any nature or degree to any foreign government, nation, institution, sect, ruler, person or people," whose minds are sound and morals good, whose reputations are respectable and habits exemplary; to promote patriotism and to exemplify a "practical benevolence"; "to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood"; and to teach and "faithfully inculcate a high spiritual philosophy through an exalted ritualism." ²

¹G.P., p. 13087. Constitution and Laws of the Ku Klux Klan of Canada. Hereafter cited Constitution.

²Ibid., Article II, Section 1.

The authoritarian method of the Klan, which was not apparent in its declared ideals, was more than evident in its organizational structure. Few of the many Saskatchewanians who joined the Knights were aware of the nature of the order's government as set out in its Constitution. It was clearly set up to enhance the control and manipulation of the membership by the executive. It read as follows:

The Government of this Order shall ever be militaristic in character, especially in its executive management and control; and no legislative enactment or constitutional amendment hereafter shall encroach upon, affect or change this fundamental principle of the Invisible Empire.¹

The authority of the Invisible Empire was to be universal: the "geographical reach of this Order . . . shall embrace the whole world." In actuality, it meant the Dominion of Canada. The first territorial division in the Invisible Empire was the "Realm." This simply consisted of a Province of Canada. The second division was the "District," the boundaries of which were to be established at the discretion of the King Kleagle (the head of an unorganized Realm); but the number of Districts in a Realm could not exceed six, except by permission of the Imperial Wizard. A "District" consisted of a number of Klans or locals incorporated into one geographical area. The "Klanton" was the next division, and it was the territorial jurisdiction of the "Klan" or "local." It was the smallest geographical unit of the Empire,

¹Ibid., Article I, Section 2.

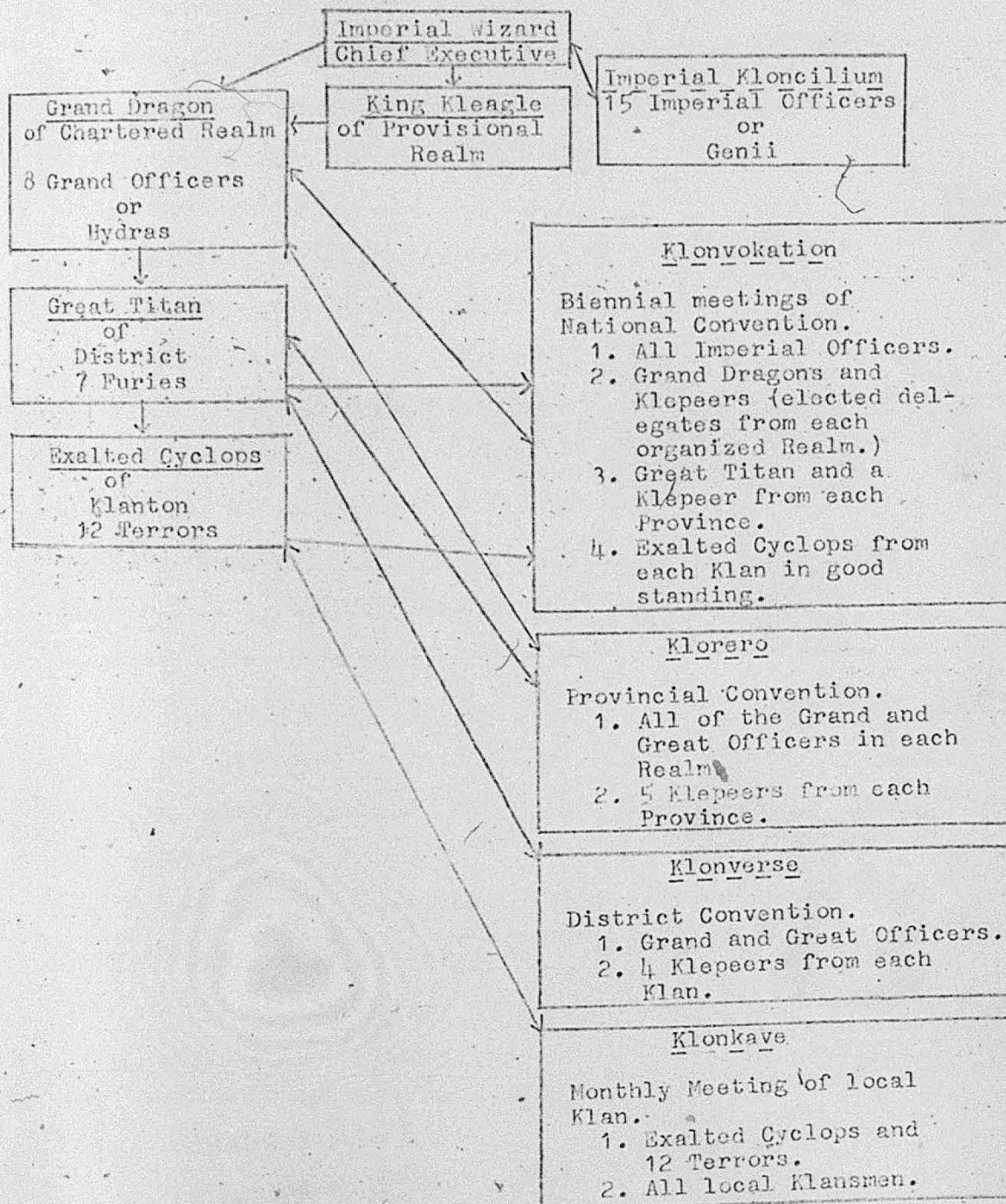
embracing " a County except as otherwise designated by the Imperial Wizard or his lawful representative." All territories outside of Realms, Districts and Klantons were designated as the "Alien World," and every non-member was an "Alien."¹

The power structure of the Klan was somewhat complicated. The Imperial Wizard was the supreme chief executive and commander-in-chief. The office of Imperial Wizard was elective and any respectable member of a Klan "in good standing as determined by the records of the Imperial Headquarters" was eligible. The tenure of office was four years, and the office was filled by a majority vote of the Klonvocation or General Assembly. If after three ballots no candidate had an absolute majority, all names were dropped except the highest three. After three more ballots, if no result was determined, the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes was eliminated, leaving only two candidates for the last ballot. But the flaw in this democratic veneer is readily seen, in the fact that nominations for the Imperial office could not come from the rank and file, only from the Imperial Klouncilium or Executive. The only power the Klonvocation had was to choose a leader from candidates who had been carefully screened by the Executive.²

¹Ibid., Article III, Sections 1-4.

²Constitution, Article VII, Section 1.

POWER STRUCTURE OF THE KNIGHTS OF KU KLUX KLAN OF CANADA.¹



1. Adapted from J. A. Davis, "The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1920-1930: An Historical Study" (Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1966).

The Imperial Klonecilium was handpicked by the Imperial Wizard immediately after his election. Again, the part played by the Klonevocation was simply one of endorsing candidates already chosen. If any of the Imperial Wizard's nominations failed to get a majority vote of the Klonevocation after four ballots, he had to nominate another candidate. The Klonecilium consisted of fifteen members, four of whom formed an Executive Committee with the Imperial Wizard. The real control of the whole organization was in the hands of the Klonecilium, but more specifically, in the hands of the Executive Committee as it had "full power and authority" to act for the Klonecilium when there arose questions of "paramount importance."¹ The fact that the Imperial Wizard had the power to choose his own Executive made the Klan, in practice, an autocratic organization.

The control of the Imperial Wizard was also evident in the extension work of the Order. He had the power to appoint and remove Kleagles or organizers and to designate them to a particular area to work "by and under his requirements and instructions."² The King Kleagle was simply a salesman or field worker for the Klan, and was usually in charge of a Province. Prior to the province becoming an organized and autonomous Realm with its own charter, it was governed pro-

¹Ibid., Sections 2-7.

²Ibid., Article XI, Section 1.

visionally by a King Kleagle. When the Imperial Wizard thought that the provisional Realm had sufficient numbers, he granted it a charter and appointed a Grand Dragon to govern it.¹

The Grand Dragon of a Realm could appoint eight officials -- or Hydras -- to assist him. These appointed officials remained in office until a provincial convention, or Klorero, was called. From then on, the Klorero elected its own officers, and adopted laws for the government of the Realm. The Klorero was composed of the Grand Dragon, eight Hydras, and delegates from Districts and Klantons. The charter granted to the Realm by the Imperial Klouncilium brought some benefits, such as local government and retention of a portion of dues, but it did not confer complete autonomy. The Constitution clearly stated that "the Klorero shall possess no power to interfere with the Imperial Klouncilium in its plans and purposes in the promulgation of this Order within its respective bounds."²

The dividing of the Realm into Districts was the responsibility of the King Kleagle before a charter was granted. Once again, the officers appointed by him served until a District convention, or Klonverse, could be called. The Klonverse then elected a president and seven officers,

¹Davis, p. 19.

²Constitution, Article XIV, Sections 1-4.

or the Great Titan and his seven Furies. It could not, however, nominate a candidate for the office of Great Titan as this was the exclusive right of the Grand Dragon of the Realm.¹

A Klonverse consisted of the Grand Dragon of the Realm and his eight Hydras, the Great Titan and his seven Furies of the District, and four delegates from each Klanton. It was not a deliberative gathering; instead, its function was social and fraternal, for the purpose of promoting good fellowship, developing interest in the Klan and explaining its work in the District.² In short, the Klonverse was the social centre for the fraternal side of the Klan's programme, an aspect of Klancraft rarely used to its fullest extent.³

The Klan locals were granted charters at the whim of the Grand Dragon. It was he who stipulated the number of petitioners necessary to institute a new Klan, and set its territorial boundaries. In unorganized realms, these rights belonged to the King Kleagle. As at the Realm and District level, provisional officers were appointed until a local meeting, or Kloncave, of Klansmen was held. At this meeting, the charter was read and officers elected. The elected officers of a Klan were the Exalted Cyclops and his twelve

¹Ibid., Article XV.

²Ibid.

³Davis, p. 21.

Terrors, and their tenure of office was one year.¹

Once every two years, in September, a National Convention, or Klonvocation, of the Ku Klux Klan was to be held. This was the legislative body of the organization and had "jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to creating and amending this Constitution and Laws, the regulation, government and general welfare of this Order." Its composition included all the Imperial Officers, the King Kleagles, Grand Dragons, Exalted Cyclopes, and one elected delegate from each of the Realms, Districts and Klantons. Each organized province represented in the Klonvocation was entitled to one vote for each one hundred Klansmen of "good standing" in that Realm. Provinces not organized into Realms were allowed one vote for every District. It should be pointed out that votes cast by Exalted Cyclopes were deducted from the total vote quotas of their Realms.²

The Invisible Empire had four sources of revenue: the Klectoken, Imperial and Realm taxes, profits realized from the sale of Klan paraphernalia, regalia supplies, jewellery, uniforms, costumes, stationary and other articles, and the interest accruing from investments made by the order. The Klectoken was simply the fee paid by new members, or as the Kleagle was always careful to explain, a "donation" to a

¹Constitution, Article XVI.

²Ibid., Article V.

worthy christian cause. It could not be less than ten dollars and it was divided as follows: five dollars to the General Treasury of the organization, five to the Propagation Department for the payment of salaries and expenses of Kleagles and King Kleagles, and anything over and above ten dollars went to the Treasury of the local Klan. The Imperial tax was on a per capita basis due each quarter and could not exceed fifteen cents. The Realm or Province tax, twenty-five cents per quarter,¹ was used for the local needs of the Klan.

Although the Constitution of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada does not mention female membership, appeals were made to the women of Canada to join the order,² and in Saskatchewan at least 189 women became members. The women's organization was founded by Simmons himself, the gentleman who revived the old Klan of Reconstruction days in 1915, on April 7, 1923:

It is my peculiar privilege and honor and one of the proudest moments of my life, now and here to proclaim the creation and the foundation of the woman's organization to be known as Kamelia, and in making this proclamation, to declare as the founder and creator of the Kamelia my official designation and title to be 'El Magus'.³

C. L. Fowler, one of the original Klan organizers in Canada, wrote to Scott on February 2, 1927, and informed him that he

¹Ibid., Article X.

²G.P., pp. 12411-12504.

³Johnsen, cited on p. 49.

had "the original and real Knights Kamelia which I have had copyrighted in my own name here in Canada."¹

It was this kind of organization, American in origin and promoted by American organizers, that spread out from Regina in 1927. All of the details of the organizational structure might not have been implemented in Saskatchewan, but this certainly was the master-plan, the ideal for which the Saskatchewan Klan strove. Rosborough, for example, purchased copies of the Constitution and Laws of The Invisible Empire and the Kloran of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan;² and on December 29, 1927, he wrote to Little Rock, Arkansas, and requested information regarding Klan regalia.³ The initial success of the organization in Saskatchewan was not unique in Canada, similar responses occurred in other provinces, but what was unique was the founding of an indigenous Klan, having no connection with the order in the United States or elsewhere in Canada, and which thrived owing to a political situation peculiar to Saskatchewan. The extent of its success, and the effectiveness of its organization, was to be shown clearly in its first contest with the Government in the Arm River by-election of October, 1928.

¹G.P., p. 12651.

²G.P., pp. 13044, 13087.

³With the reply to his letter, he received a catalogue of "Official Robes and Banners." See Ku Klux Klan File, Saskatchewan Archives, Regina.

It had been evident for sometime, in fact since the reorganization of the Klan in October, 1927, that the organization was moving on a collision course with the provincial Liberal government. When the confrontation came, it was evident that the Klan had prepared itself well for battle.

The Arm River by-election was called for October 25, 1928. The seat had been won by the Liberals since 1908, and in the last three elections by majorities of over three hundred votes.¹ The constituency contained fifteen towns and villages, at least four of them having local Klans before the election was announced, a large segment of electors of American descent (Premier Gardiner claimed fifty percent), and ten Orange Lodges.² While the Premier considered the province to be too unstable emotionally to risk a general election, he recognized the by-election as an opportunity to test the political influence of the Klan and, if possible, completely to rout it. To one advisor who cautioned him against holding the by-election at a time when the whole province was emotionally aroused, he replied: "When we have

¹Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries, Members of the Legislative Assembly, Elections 1905-1953 (The Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 1954), p. 74. Hereafter cited Directory of Saskatchewan.

²King Papers, p. 129218.

a contest there we want to strike a blow at the movement which has been on foot in the province stirring up religious prejudice. I think it has taken as strong a hold in Arm River as any part of the province."¹

From the Klan point of view, the Arm River by-election offered it an opportunity to put its "machine" to work. In addition to Maloney, the Klan had at least nineteen organizers and six lecturers on call in the fall of 1928.² "The whole constituency was organized by the Ku Klux Klan during the early months of the summer," wrote Gardiner to W. L. M. King, "with meetings held in everyone of the towns and villages, with the exception of Holdfast, which happens to be fairly strongly Catholic."³ Mr. Gardiner went on to accuse the Conservatives of being in collusion with the Klan:

Immediately we issued the writs for the election they pulled the whole Klan-speaking organization out and put in Conservative speakers who began an attack upon the Government based upon all the irregularities in connection with elections ever committed by the Liberal party in any part of Canada. After this propaganda had been put on they threw back into the constituency for the last three days, the whole Klan organization, and to deliver the vote brought in three or four cars for each poll from . . . Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw. They even had men appear on the streets of one or two of the towns where there was very strong opposition to Catholics, in the garb of a priest who were continuously

¹Gardiner to J. F. Johnston, June 18, 1928, p. 8810.

²See Appendix for list of organizers; Lecturers were Rev. S. P. Rondeau, Rev. W. Surman, Rev. Dr. Keeton, F. J. Ivay, Dr. W. D. Cowan, and Imperial Wizard Rosborough.

³Oct. 29, 1928, King Papers, p. 129218.

making their presence felt around the poll. Their whole organization was backed by money which appeared to be under the control of those who are opposed to the public ownership of power 1

Maloney's activities in the constituency were typical of the campaign waged by the Klan. In the weeks immediately prior to the election, he conducted meetings in the Arm River area: at Davidson, on July 26th, the advertisement of his meetings listed his lecture subjects as "Rome Explained" (for women only) and "Rome from the Inside" (men only) and claimed that "Mr. Maloney gives proof and facts in fighting for the principles of our Flag and Country";² at Kenaston, On July 31st, speaking on the "Dangers of Confessional and Unnatural Lives of Nuns and Priests," he warned that "unless Canada awoke to its danger, inside of ten years the country would be Roman Catholic," and stated that Mr. Gardiner was probably unaware that the very man "who had put him in power as premier was vice-president of the Ku Klux Klan";³ and at Imperial, on September 6th, the local newspaper observed that "there have always been the Luthers

¹Ibid.

²Davidson Leader, July 26, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13837.

³Kenaston Courier, Aug. 9, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13861; see also Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 3, 1928. I have been unable to identify the vice-president of the Klan. Gardiner, however, was nominated as leader in 1926 by C. M. Hamilton, of Weyburn, G.P., pp. 5347-5376. No Klan membership lists are available for Weyburn, and Hamilton may well not have been the party in question.

and the Maloney's to tell us that we have outgrown the old forms," and urged its readers to hear Maloney the following evening.¹

For the Conservative party, the result of the by-election was highly satisfying. Although the Liberal candidate was elected by a narrow margin of fifty-nine votes, the Conservatives scored a moral victory: the Liberal party increased its vote in the 1925 election by 965,² while the Conservative party boosted its vote by 1,214.³ The fact that ninety-one percent of the electorate voted, compared with fifty percent in 1925, revealed the great effect the issues introduced by the Klan had in heightening general interest and activity in Saskatchewan politics. Both this consequence and the greater support of provincial conservatism would be repeated in the General Election of 1929.³ But other events were to occur before the final struggle in that election.

4

The Klan's exultation over the Government's near defeat was somewhat dissipated by untoward events, however. On November 16, 1928, Imperial Wizard Rosborough was arrested

¹The Imperial Review, Sept. 6, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13867.

²Directory of Saskatchewan, loc. cit.

³See Unger, pp. 108-113, for a more detailed discussion of this by-election.

for the theft of two hundred dollars from the Rural Municipality of Mountain View, No. 318, in November, 1921. Rosborough had been engaged by the municipality as auditor from 1921 to 1925.¹ The charge against Rosborough, based on evidence supplied by a former secretary-treasurer who also was arrested on October 30th for the theft of \$3,500 from the municipality, was that he had pocketed two hundred dollars when the audit revealed an overage of four hundred and eighty-five dollars; the secretary-treasurer accepted the remaining two hundred and eighty-five dollars. On November 20th, Rosborough was committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the criminal court/at Kerrobert and released on \$2,000 bail. In October, 1929, Rosborough, represented by Hon. J. F. Bryant, Minister of Public Works, was found not guilty, the jury reaching the decision within ten minutes after hearing six hours of evidence. "In dismissing the jury and discharging Rosborough, the Chief Justice stated that the verdict was fully justified by the evidence."²

Spurred on by their success in the Arm River by-election, and convinced that the action against Rosborough in November was prompted by the Government's desire for

¹Regina Leader, Nov. 17, 1928; Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 17, 1928; Winnipeg Tribune, Nov. 19, 1928; Montreal Gazette, Nov. 19, 1928.

²Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 24, 1929, p. 1; see also Regina Leader and Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Nov. 21, 1928.

revenge, the Klansmen actively promoted their cause throughout the remainder of 1928. On January 9-10, 1929, they gathered at Saskatoon for the "Second Annual Klonsvocation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." One of the matters announced for discussion at the gathering was "the question of instituting and continuing a more aggressive campaign, with the object of establishing a Klan in every district. This was necessary, asserted the Imperial Wizard, because Premier Gardiner's attacks upon the Klan had resulted in a great increase in membership. Delegates from one hundred and fifty Klans in Saskatchewan and five affiliated locals in Manitoba were expected at the Convention.¹ A later report stated that Klansmen came "from Shaunavon in the South-west to The Pas in the North-east; Winnipeg in the South-east to Alsask in the North-west; they have gathered together to discuss the business of the past year and prepare their programme for 1929."²

After the business session of the first day and the banquet that followed, a public meeting was held to hear addresses by two clergymen and prominent Klansmen, Rev. S. P. Rondeau and Rev. T. J. Hind. Three hundred people heard the former speak in the Regent Hall on "The Saskatchewan School Question." He attacked the Dominion Government for

¹Regina Daily Star, Jan. 2, 1929.

²The Klansman, Feb., 1929, G.P., p. 12939.

legalizing Separate schools in the province in 1905: "their act was 'ultra vires' for the British North America Act enacted that parliament could establish new provinces but could not legislate for them."¹ Politicians in general were criticized -- the "weak-kneed poltroon Protestant politicians," "these time servers," were to blame "for much of the grief in the country," and Premier Gardiner in particular -- he "was not doing his duty, for the Premier . . . did not tell the Catholics to observe the law, but by his sanction in allowing teachers from Quebec to come to this province without having a standard of learning set by the province, he played directly into the hands of the Church of Rome." Even members of his own race, the French, received a tongue-lashing: "During the war there were 60,000 eligible men from Quebec Of these, 14,000 joined the colors, 7,000 going to the front; the rest of them 'went to the woods'." He concluded by stating that the "Klan did not stand for racial controversies and bitterness, but desired national unity and the abolition of all religious favoritism."² Rev. Hind's speech, significant of the religious aspect of the Klan, was entitled, "Was Peter the First Pope?" "He gave 17 reasons," reported the Star-Phoenix, "for supposing that Peter was never a Pope and that he never claimed the posi-

¹Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Jan. 11, 1929.

²Ibid.

tion himself."¹

The Klonoconvocation reconvened the next morning, and the first business item to be discussed was a financial statement for the period October 26, 1927, to December 31, 1928, audited by Dawson and Rosborough, Chartered Accountants. For whatever reason, Rosborough's covering letter as auditor, was at great pains to explain why he audited the books himself, pointing out that the Imperial Treasurer, Dr. W. D. Cowan, was ill and the necessity of not placing "our records in the hands of a non-Klansman."² The total receipts for the 1927-28 period amounted to \$48,470.44, and total expenses were \$48,100.37, leaving a balance on hand of \$369.07. Major expenditures consisted of salaries and expenses of organizers and lecturers, the total amounting to \$33,385.99, Imperial Wizard's expenses, \$1,284.50, and salaries of Imperial Kligrapp and office staff, amounting to \$2,945.07. The statement also reveals how the Klan cared for its own: an item of \$912.26 was listed under "payments" as "Advance re J. J. Maloney meeting Libel Case and 1 issue [of Maloney's paper The Freedman]." ³

¹Ibid.

²Department of Public Works, Deputy Minister's file No. 1 ("Crazy file"), Saskatchewan Archives, Regina, Sask.; also published in Cudworth Progress, May 31, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13973.

³Ibid.

The convention also discussed at length "the School Question, Immigration and the Return of the Natural Resources," with resolutions being passed to express official viewpoint of the Ku Klux Klan. The following were typical resolutions:

Whereas Section 9 of the School Act reads, "There shall be an educational council appointed by the Lieutenant-Government-in-Council, consisting of at least 5 persons, two of whom shall be Roman Catholic";

Be it resolved, that the words, "two of whom shall be Roman Catholic," should be deleted from the Act.

Whereas Section 30, Clause 2, reads, "Each person nominated for trustees shall be able to read and write";

Be it resolved, that the words "in the English Language" should be added to said clause. 1

Other resolutions were passed regarding an "entirely" non-sectarian public school, changes in the Canadian flag, natural resources, the influence of the Pope in Canada, and the spread of bilingualism outside of Quebec. 2

The Klonsvocation, having attended to its organizational business, and once more having declared its position on what it considered the key issues in Saskatchewan public life, attempted to extend still further its means of reaching the public.

¹The Klansman, loc. cit. It is interesting to note that Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, leader of the Conservative party at that time, wrote in his book, The Education Of The New-Canadian (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918), p. 228, that he believed "the authorities should introduce legislation to the effect that all rural trustees should be able to speak, read, and write reasonably good English"

²See Appendix for other resolutions and a list of "movers of Resolutions."

Resolved that this Klonvocation records its appreciation of the efforts of the committee in the publication of THE KLANSMAN and recommend to the membership the furtherance of the project by increasing the circulation of the paper 1

The first issue of The Klansman had been published in October, 1928, and for the first few months, at least, subscriptions were sold at the rate of one hundred per month. Published and edited in Regina by C. H. Ellis, a one year subscription sold for one dollar, and a single copy for ten cents. Not surprisingly, its main themes were anti-catholic, anti-immigrant, anti-communist, and anti-Liberal as the following article titles indicate: "The Catholic Church And The Modern Mind," "Recognition of Pope's Temporal Power Forseen," "Cut ordered in Central European Immigration," "The Foreignization of Canada," "Toronto's 'Red' Orators Told To Use English," and "'His Majesty's Mail' Is No Longer Official, It Is Now 'Canada's Mail'."

Readers of the Klansman were occasionally advised as to their reading habits. Under the heading, "Every Klan Should Have A Library," the following books were listed: The Ku Klux Klan In Prophecy, Klansmen: Guardians Of Liberty, Heroes Of The Fiery Cross, by Bishop Alma White; Thirty Years In Hell, an expose of "the unholy doings of Priests, by Ex-Priest Fressenberg; The Priest, The Woman And The Confes-

¹The Klansman, loc. cit.

²Ibid.

sional, the "greatest exposure of this 'Death Trap to Virtue' ever made public, by Father Chiniquy; and Maria Monk, a revelation of "Black Nunnery Secrets."¹ The Klansman was not going to allow the pitch of prejudice to lower!

In addition to the Klansman, there were three other periodicals, not published officially by the Klan but similar in quality and content, patronized by the Klansmen: the Western Freedman, claiming a circulation of 12,000 originally published and edited by J. J. Maloney but later directed by Maloney and edited by Mr. G. A. Lundie at Regina; and The Beacon, a publication from Vancouver edited by the Rev. Duncan McDougall. The Orange Sentinel, another periodical that went hand-in-hand with the Klansman, and which is quoted frequently in this study, was probably the most widely read among the Klansmen, Saskatchewan being the second strongest province in Orange membership.

Thus the Klan delegates to the Saskatoon Klonsvocation might well have assessed their position and received assurance from their fortunes in the past year -- the quality of leadership recruited, the structure of their organization, the response of the electorate in the Arm River by-election, and the establishment and progress of the order's official publication. The convention served to strengthen and unite

¹Ibid., May 15, 1929, G.P., p. 12959.

the Klansmen for the last stage of their fight against the Liberals in the months preceding the Saskatchewan general election, which was expected at any time. In the meantime, however, the Klan had other battles to fight; the order's intrusion into the field of religion in Saskatchewan had not gone unnoticed or unchallenged. And to a great extent, the ultimate success or failure of the Klan depended upon its appeal to the religious bodies in the province.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

1

The Protestant-Roman Catholic conflict had clearly been evident in the Arm River by-election. From disguising themselves as priests to arouse the Protestant electorate, as Premier Gardiner informed MacKenzie King, to the denouncing of the Roman Catholic Church, the Klansmen carried the religious issue right into the election campaign. To some degree, it was not surprising that religion should have played such an important part in the Klan program. It had always claimed to be first and foremost a religious institution. And in fact, if the issues the order raised had not been connected with religious convictions and institutions, its progress in most areas would have been seriously restricted. This religious aspect of the Klan went a long way in building up the organization and preparing it for the struggle ahead with the Liberal party.

"We, the order of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada," began the Ku Klux Creed, "reverently acknowledge the majesty, goodness and supremacy of Almighty God and recognize his mercy and providence through Jesus Christ our

Lord."¹ This statement from the Klan's Creed set the tone of the whole ideological structure of the organization. Not only did one have to be a white Gentile in order to be a member, but a white Gentile Protestant. This in itself was prima-facie evidence that the organization was religiously oriented. There were other evidences, however, which indicated the strong appeal the order was making to the religious sentiments of the Saskatchewan populace.

For an organization that considered the Roman Catholic Church with its ritualism and symbolism a "dispicable system of priestcraft which rules by superstition and fear,"² the Klan employed a good deal of ritualism and symbolism itself. Take, for instance, the Klan's initiation ceremony. This contained numerous references to biblical passages and rites with religious connotations. After the preliminary part of the ceremony, in which questions were asked and answered, candidates approached the Exalted Cyclops and the "sacred altar" and knelt upon the right knee. The Exalted Cyclops then lifted a vessel of dedication fluid from off the altar and addressed the candidates as follows:

With this transparent, life-giving, powerful, God-given fluid, more precious and far more significant than all the sacred oils of the ancients, I set you . . . apart from the men of your daily association to

¹Constitution, Article 1, G.P., p. 13088.

²Kerrobert Citizen, May 16, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13599.

the great and honorable task you have voluntarily allotted yourselves as citizens of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

At this point, the following words were sung:

To Thee, oh God I call to thee --
True to my oath, oh, help me be!
I've pledged my love, my blood, my all;
Oh, give me grace that I not fall.

The Exalted Cyclops next sprinkled the fluid on the candidates and dedicated them "in body, in mind, in spirit, and in life, to the holy service of our country, our Klan, our homes, each other and humanity." The Kludd, or minister, terminated the ceremony with the dedicatory prayer:

God of all, author of all good; You who didst create man and so proposed that man should fill a distinct place and perform a specific work in the economy of Thy good government, Thou has revealed Thyself and Thy purpose to man, and by this revelation we have solemnly dedicated ourselves as Klansmen to that sublime work harmonic with thy will and purpose in our creation.

Now, oh, God! we, through Thy goodness, have here dedicated with Thine own divinely distilled fluid these manly men at the altar kneeling, who have been moved by worthy motives and impelled by noble impulses to turn from selfishness and fraternal alienation and to espouse with body, mind, spirit and life, the holy service of our country, our Klan, our home and each other, -- we beseech Thee to dedicate them with the fullness of Thy Spirit, keep them . . . true to their . . . sacred, solemn oath to our noble cause, to the glory of Thy great name. Amen! 1

Similarly, the local meetings of the Klan were opened and closed with religious rites. The meetings began with the singing of the following "klode":

¹Kloran of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, G.P.,
pp. 13073-13075.

We meet with cordial greetings,
 In this our sacred cave
 To pledge anew our compact
 With hearts sincere and brave;
 A band of faithful Klansmen,
 Knights of the K.K.K.
 Forever and for aye.

After prayer by the minister, the meeting was then opened for business. The same procedure was followed at the close, ending with the benediction:

May the blessing of our Lord wait upon thee and the sun of glory shine around thy head; may the gates of plenty, honor, and happiness be always open to thee and thine, so far as they will not rob thee of eternal joys.

May no strife disturb thy days, nor sorrow distress thy nights, and when death shall summon thy departure may the Saviour's blood have washed thee from all impurities, perfected thy initiation, and thus prepared, enter thou into the Empire Invisible and repose thy soul in perpetual peace. Amen! 1

The colour and drama of the Klan ritual might well have attracted many emotionally starved Protestants in Saskatchewan, especially in the quiet, unexciting, vast, and often very dull, rural areas of the province. The puritanical austerity in the worship of most Protestant denominations has not infrequently been blamed for Protestants turning to secret societies and fraternities with elaborate pageantry and symbolism. While upholding Protestant ideals to the end, the Klan ritual was an evidence² of one inadequacy in the Klansmen's own tradition.

¹Ibid., pp. 13046-13055.

²See Mecklin, pp. 105-106.

One Protestant fraternity which probably contributed more to the Klan's success in Saskatchewan than any other body was the Orange Lodge. By using Klan organizers and spokesmen as guest speakers at their rallies, making available their halls for Klan gatherings, and spreading favourable reports of the Knights in The Sentinel, the official publication of the Lodge, the Orangemen helped to establish the hooded society in the province of Saskatchewan.

That the Orange Order was influential in Saskatchewan is beyond doubt. Under the leadership of W. H. G. Armstrong, Grand Organizer of the Lodge in the province, its membership increased from the second lowest to the second highest in Canada by 1925, surpassed only by Ontario. Armstrong alone had initiated 10,454 Saskatchewan Orangemen. On November 11, 1924, the Sentinel announced that its circulation had reached 39,000 and, since Saskatchewan was the second strongest province in membership, it is most probable that it absorbed the second largest number of Sentinel subscriptions.¹ The Lodge was so influential politically that Conservative candidates were frequently pressed to take out Orange membership in order to obtain their nomination.²

As early as 1923, the Sentinel had reported approvingly

¹The Sentinel, Aug. 11, 1925. Maloney claimed that the Orange membership in Saskatchewan was 36,000, Melville Canadian, March 28, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 14075.

²Interview with Mr. Claude Burrows, of Regina, former Secretary of the provincial Conservative Association and Conservative candidate, Feb. 24, 1968.

the activities of the hooded order. "This Much-Maligned Organization Claims to Stand for Constitutional Government, Law and Order, the Public School and the Protestant Faith -- Is That Why Rome Hates the Movement?"¹ It almost seemed that the periodical conducted a calculated campaign of preparation for the Klan's entrance into Ontario. From April to September of 1923, the Sentinel carried glowing reports of the American Klan -- reports such as the "Object and Principles of the Ku Klux Klan," "Why Rome's Outcry Against Ku Klux Klan?" and "Romanist Persecution Swells the Ranks of the Ku Klux Klan."² The September 18th edition carried the headline, which appeared to culminate the series, "Will Start Organization of Ku Klux in Canada."

Articles on the Klan continued to appear in the Orange publication: at least four more from September to December, 1923, thirteen in 1924, six in 1925, three in 1926, four in 1927, sixteen in 1928, two in 1929, and five in 1930. The sudden increase in Klan articles for 1928 was more significant for Saskatchewan than any other province; the Klan was on the move and deeply involved in politics at this time, particularly in the Arm River by-election of October. Accordingly, the Sentinel not only reported Klan activities but also carried articles on the main political issues

¹April 10, 1923.

²Ibid.; May 29; Sept. 11.

emphasized by the Klan. On January 17, 1928, for example, a reprint from the Regina Star asserted that a plan was on foot to transport 125,000 French-Canadian families from Quebec to Saskatchewan, which would mean 250,000 votes.

"The movement, therefore, would be political, purely and simply. The object is to submerge the British population of the western provinces and to maintain the French-Canadian dominance in the Federal Government." Other articles

appeared on the immigration issue: "Gentlemen With Foreign-sounding Names Take Initiative in Attack on the Klan,"

"Saskatchewan Rapidly Becoming Non-British By the Foreign Influx," and "Discrimination Against Old Country British Must Cease, Says Bishop Lloyd."¹

The School question was a major issue the Lodge helped keep alive. "School Troubles In Saskatchewan," read the title of an exposé of the Gravelbourg school situation on April 19; "Romanising The Public Schools" and "Education in Saskatchewan in the Hands of the Bishops" on November 8; "Saskatchewan's Public Schools" and "Public School Abuses In Saskatchewan Cited," "Nuns are Public School Principles Because Law Does Not Define 'Public School'" on November 15. In addition to these, articles on Natural Resources and Roman Catholic influence in the provincial government completed the Sentinel's campaign against the Liberal Government

¹March 1, p. 11, Aug. 23, p. 8, Oct. 25, p. 10.

¹
of Saskatchewan.

Thus the Orange Lodge and the Ku Klux Klan, naturally akin in their ultra-Protestantism, found further grounds for co-operation in striving to deliver Saskatchewan from the alleged Roman Catholic menace by ousting the Gardiner Government. It was not surprising, therefore, that many members of the Lodge found their way into the Klan -- a fact that is well attested in the membership directory of the local Klans.² Fifteen of forty-three members of the Kincaid Klan, for instance, belonged to the local lodge, amounting to approximately one-fifth of the total local Orange membership; and of the fourteen members of the Hazenmore Klan, two were Orangemen.³ More important to the Klan's success was the fact that Protestant ministers, often served local Orange lodges as Chaplain. This in turn brought many of them into contact with favourable accounts of the Klan, and seems to have channelled many if not into the order, at least into

¹See June 9, 1927, p. 1, "Papal Policy Controls The West," Aug. 11, 1927, p. 20, and Sept. 15, p. 3, for Natural Resources; March 9, 1926, p. 2, "Why Saskatchewan Is Called Papal State," March 16, 1926, p. 2, "How the Roman Church Rules Saskatchewan," June 28, 1928, p. 2, "A Hot Time In Saskatchewan," and July 5, 1928, p. 2, "Rome Controls Saskatchewan," for charges of Catholic influence.

²Compare G.P., pp. 12411-12512, and the Record of Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Archives, Regina.

³G.P., pp. 12021-12026, 12434. See also Rev. W. H. Morrison, Scribe of Vancouver Klan, to Meighen, n.d., Meighen Papers, p. 104153, and Transcript of Interview with M. J. Coldwell, June 19, 1963, for reference to Orange-Klan connection.

sympathetic attitudes to the order.¹

While the ultra-Protestantism of the Klan by itself appealed to many Saskatchewan residents, it was made more palatable for others by the order's strong emphasis on fundamental Protestantism -- an aspect of Klan propaganda which appealed to that segment of Protestantism which was vaguely uneasy about and reacting to the growth of more flexible liberal attitudes to the Bible and basic doctrine, while longing for security in an age of change in religion and elsewhere.² In addition to anti-Catholicism, the negative aspect of its propaganda, this emphasis on popular protestantism formed a positive part of the order's appeal in Saskatchewan.

The Klansman, the official publication of the Saskatchewan Klan, declared clearly the tendency of the order toward fundamentalism.

The Holy Bible, the Klansman's law of life, and the Fiery Cross, the Klansman's call to service. God's revelation, guide and comforting word to man and the emblem of the crucified, but risen, triumphant light of the world. The living Christ, Son of God and Saviour of men.³

It was much more effective when heard from the lips of an eloquent speaker like Dr. J. H. Hawkins: "No man or woman

¹See Record of Proceeding of the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, March 3-4, 1926, for locals and their respective chaplains.

²See also Davis, p. 280.

³The Klansman, Vol. 1, No. 5, Feb., 1929.

unless they [sic] are prepared to accept the Christ who died on the Cross of Calvary can find room in our organization."¹

On another occasion, he stated that the Klan membership was based on a "belief in Christ as the Saviour of the world, and the 12th chapter of Romans was the criterion of Klan character."² And in a speech at Yorkton, J. J. Maloney "scored the modernist tendency of some churches of today in their teachings, stating that they were getting away from the principles of Christianity as taught by its Founder."³

Maloney's attack in 1928 on the "modernist tendency" of some Churches was a reflection of the controversy then raging in the older Protestant denominations. In the Baptist Church, especially, was this evident with the struggle between T. T. Shields and the liberal Baptist churchmen reaching its climax in that year. The following observation, though made regarding the United States' Klan, was applicable to the order in Saskatchewan:

Although there was no formal connection between the Invisible Empire and any religious denomination, Fundamentalism was the central thread of the Klan program the K.K.K. glorified the "old time religion," rejected evolution and higher criticism, and admonished its members to attend church regularly. Protestant clergymen were reminded that Klansmen accepted the Bible as the literal and unalterable word

¹Report of Hawkin's speech in Regina, Feb. 16, 1928, G.P., p. 12527.

²Qu'Appelle Progress, July 5, 1928, clipping, ibid., p. 13775.

³Yorkton Enterprise, March 27, 1928, ibid., p. 14076.

¹
of God.

2

In the period of the Klan's ascendance in Saskatchewan, all of the major Protestant Churches were infected by the tradition of ultra-Protestantism and affected by the new issue of fundamentalism. It was evident that the Klan's position on these issues would lead both to its acceptance and rejection by the memberships of the Protestant denominations. Although it is impossible to document with accuracy the response of these memberships at large, perhaps a good indication of that response was given in the ministerial reaction to the Klan.

Ministers of several denominations within the Protestant faith were included in the Klan membership. To a certain extent, this was to be expected not simply because of the Klan's creed, but because Saskatchewan was overwhelmingly dominated by the Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran and Baptist Churches. Of a population of 757,510 in 1921, 497,817 people belonged to these denominations. In addition to the large denominations, there were 2,555 Congregationalists, 1,552 Salvation Army, 3,250 listed under "Protestant," and 28,251 under "All Others," which consisted

¹Jackson, p. 18.

mainly of small Protestant sects.¹ With such an overwhelming majority belonging to historic Protestantism with its deeply ingrained distrust of the Roman Catholic Church and its hierarchy, Saskatchewan was swayed easily by the preachings of ultra-Protestantism by the Ku Klux Klan.²

The United Church provided the Saskatchewan Klan with the most ministerial support. At least ten United Church ministers were Klansmen and three others expressed sympathy with the order: one was a guest speaker at a Klan banquet, another opened a Klan meeting with prayer, and the third welcomed Klansmen to his church and proceeded to deliver a sermon which the Klan could heartily endorse.³

¹Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 1, pp. 568, 572.

²Similar responses occurred elsewhere under comparable conditions. One student of the Klan in Indiana, for example, observed that "rurally oriented Indiana furnished fertile soil" for the Klansmen and that the majority of ministers enlisted by the order "came from the Baptist, Disciples of Christ, and Methodist denominations," Davis, p. 280. David Chalmers made the same observation from a national standpoint and added that probably "the Methodists, possessing the strongest bent toward social action, supplied the largest number of ministerial Klansmen," Chalmers, p. 293.

³The names of the following ministers appear in the membership records: Reverends T. Musto, Verwood, A. J. Lewis, Strasbourg, J. McKnight, La Fleche, W. C. Challis, Langbank, D. E. Freek, Bengough, W. Titley, Imperial (see Imperial Review, April 25, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13964), L. R. Bouchard, Pontieux, S. P. Rondeau, Woodrow, W. H. Madill, Kincaid, and L. B. Henn, Macrorie (see Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, April 11, 1929). Sympathizers were Rev. Dr. Keeton, Indian Head (see Indian Head News, March 21, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13956), Rev. R. J. Smith, Wilkie (see Wilkie Press, March 28, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 14072), and Rev. Dr. W. S. Reid, Saskatoon (see Saskatoon Star, March 26, 1928). See G.P., pp. 12411-12508, compare with The United Church Year Book 1927-1929.

However, since the United Church was by far the largest Protestant denomination in 1927 with over one-hundred thousand more members than its nearest rival, the Anglican Church, in 1931,¹ it was not surprising that it had the largest ministerial representation in the ranks of the Klan.

Rev. S. P. Rondeau, minister of the Woodrow United Church and former Moderator of the Saskatchewan Synod of the Presbyterian Church, openly associated with the Klan leaders and frequently spoke for the order.² In a memorable Klan rally at Regina on February 16, 1928, the Reverend Rondeau declared:

I lived in the United States nearly twenty years and I want to say that about 30,000 ministers belonged to the Klan. I want to say that some of the most notable professors, some of the wealthiest men by the thousands belonged to the Klan in the United States. . . . shall we judge the Klan in Canada which has not committed one immoral deed, so far as I know, shall we judge the Klan which came here with principles that are practically unassailable? I am a Klansman 3

Rev. L. B. Henn, of Macrorie, declared that the "primary aim of the Klan is to render service to one and all, believing that through a greater service to humanity men and women are brought nearer to Christ the Criterion of Character."⁴

¹Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, p. 258.

²Minutes of the Fifteenth Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Regina, Nov. 2-5, 1920, p. 3.

³Verbatim report published by Klan, G.P., p. 12848.

⁴Henn to Editor, Saskatoon Star, June 23, 1928.

Rev. W. Titley, of Imperial, asserted that the Klan was an old organization that had been revived to defend Protestant rights and truths and urged "every true Protestant" to support it.¹ And the Rev. Dr. W. S. Reid, while disclaiming membership in the Klan, stated that

there were certain problems facing the people of Canada today . . . and if the Protestant churches were not taking the same attitude as the Klan towards those problems he would like to know what attitude they were taking It was in the trend of events that one must look for the explanation of the Klan's present activity in the west.

He then outlined some of the alleged problems which justified the Klan's existence: the spread of a "sense of suspicion and distrust of all political parties," the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards civil matters as revealed in a "veiled threat" in a recent edition of the Roman Catholic Record, and that the Department of Education had not removed a textbook from the curriculum which was "objectionable" to Protestants.²

The United Church, however, was only one of several Protestant denominations represented in the ranks of the Klansmen. Of the ministers that can be identified, the Baptists appear to be next in strength of numbers with at

¹Titley to Editor, Imperial Review, April 19, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13522.

²Saskatoon Daily Star, March 26, 1928.

least four being involved with the Klan.¹ Rev. Hind, of the First Baptist Church in Moose Jaw, was one of the original members in Moose Jaw and soon became a prominent Klan spokesman. When Emmons uttered those memorable words, in the first great Klan rally at Moose Jaw, "I know the River Street gang is out to get me . . . if they do I want you to use my hide as the skin of a drum and beat it loud and long as you march along carrying the crusade down that sinful street of depravity," it was Rev. Hind who immediately declared that he would gladly forfeit his own life, for his colleague was performing a more noble work.² Rev. Hind was actively engaged in Klan promotional work throughout the province, lecturing here and there on Klan topics.³

Rev. William Surman, minister of Cameron Memorial Baptist Church, Regina, chaired the widely advertized meeting of the Klan in Regina on February 16, 1928. He made his attitude toward the Klan clear in his opening remarks:

I am proud to be Chairman of this meeting tonight because I am a Minister of the Gospel and, as a Minister of the Gospel, I see nothing contradictory in the principles which I teach and the principles of the

¹Reverends T. J. Hind, Moose Jaw, William Surman, Regina, Robert Watson, Moose Jaw, and A. U. Russell, Estevan. See G.P., pp. 12459, 12506, 12470; Estevan Mercury, April 19, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13523; also 1924 Year Book of The Baptist Union of Western Canada, pp. 24, 75, 152.

²Robertson, loc. cit.; Moose Jaw Evening Times, June 8, 1927.

³Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 30, 1929, p. 11.

Klan to which I belong I happen to be the man at the wheel of this Regina local organization. 1

As Exalted Cyclops of the Regina Klan, Rev. Surman usually organized the order's rallies in Regina. In this capacity, he contacted M. J. Coldwell prior to the 1929 election and asked him if he would like to place his views "before a meeting of influential people to be held in the city of Regina." At first, Mr. Coldwell agreed but refused on learning that the meeting was to be sponsored by the Klan. 2. Lecturing outside of Regina was another service Rev. Surman performed for the organization; on March 14, 1929, the Indian Head News advertized him as one of the guest speakers at a local Ku Klux Klan gathering. 3

Reverends Hind and Surman were the outstanding Baptist spokesmen for the Klansmen. Their involvement with the order was not carried on in a corner as most of the city newspapers reported the first public Klan rally at Moose Jaw and the gathering at Regina on February 16, 1928. Their relationships with the Ku Klux Klan, however, did not detract from the confidence placed in them by their fellow ministers -- in 1930 they were elected President and Sec-

¹Verbatim report of Klan meeting, G.P., p. 12847.

²Transcript of interview with M. J. Coldwell, June 19, 1963.

³Clipping, G.P., p. 13956.

retary, respectively, of the Baptist Convention of Saskatchewan.¹

There were other indications that the Baptists were inclined to approve of the Klan. In 1927, the Baptist Convention at Saskatoon declared that Ottawa was biased towards the Roman Catholic settlers and referred to the "Catholic Menace," expressing fear that the franchise in Western Canada would be controlled by a Catholic majority in a few years.² Baptist pulpits were open to ministerial Klansmen: Maloney lectured in the Moose Jaw First Baptist church in the fall of 1927;³ the Rev. David Nygren, a United States Klansman who greeted the crowd at the spectacular Moose Jaw gathering, held special meetings at the Estevan Baptist church.⁴ And Maloney thought an article in The Western Baptist to be sufficiently anti-Catholic to reprint it in his paper, The Western Freedman.⁵

Although it appears that the Anglican Church ministry did not produce any prominent Klansmen, at least four, and perhaps five, names of Anglican clergymen were

¹1930 Year Book . . ., pp. 57, 87.

²The Sentinel, June 30, 1927, p. 10.

³Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 22, 1927.

⁴Ibid., June 8, 1927; 1928 Year Book . . ., p. 102.

⁵April 5, 1928, G.P., p. 12855.

listed in the local memberships at Limerick, Delisle, Rose-
town, and Kinistino.¹ In addition, Rev. J. Harrison Hill²
gave the invocation at Hawkins' farewell meeting in Regina.
One of the ministers, Rev. W. R. Dent, who later became a
successful author, offered his services to MacKenzie King
in the 1930 election, stating in his qualifications, "I
know the troubles out there intimately, and I think I
could safely say I could throw a monkey wrench in some
Conservative machinery having been a member of the Klan."³

Such clergy were hardly supported by the national
publication of their church, The Canadian Churchman, which
in commenting editorially on the Klan in Oklahoma, described
it as "such shocking folly and such loathesome tyranny."⁴
They had, however, at least incidental support from important
centres in the Church. For instance, it was in the 1920's

¹Reverends W. R. Dent, A. B. Sharples, H. E. Parrott,
and E. V. Bird. See G.P., pp. 12442, 12426, 12490, 12439;
The Qu'Appelle Church Quarterly, No. 141, Winter, 1926, pp.
38-39; Journal of Proceedings The fifth, Rev. A.
Bekereth, was a member of the Kinistino Klan; it is probable,
however, that this, through typographical error, was Rev. A.
Beckwith, Anglican minister and Worshipful Master of the
Loyal Orange Lodge at Kinistino. See G.P., p. 12439; Journal
of Proceedings, Twenty-ninth Meeting of the Synod of Saskat-
chewan, Saskatoon, 1929; Record of Proceedings of the Grand
Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, March 3-4, 1926, p. 73.

²Regina Leader, July 19, 1928; The Qu'Appelle Church
Quarterly, loc. cit.

³Dent to King, May 20, 1930, King Papers, p. 147476;
see also Moose Jaw Evening Times, Feb. 18, 1930, p. 9, for
article, "Anglican Preacher-writer."

⁴Oct. 4, 1923, p. 633. I owe this reference to Dr.
A. R. Allen who kindly lent me his notes on the national
publications of the major denominations in Canada.

that the Anglican Council of Social Service increasingly turned its energies to a British Empire colonization program in order to keep Canada British. Anglicans were disturbed when it appeared that Canada or any part of it would be flooded with non-British immigrants.¹ Premier Gardiner pinpointed this in a letter to King on June 7, 1928, when he remarked that "the Ku Klux Klan working in conjunction with the Conservative party began to capitalize the activities of the Anglican Church and others in opposition to the policy of the Federal Government."²

On this subject of immigration, the pronouncements of the Right Rev. Dr. G. E. Lloyd, for example, could hardly be differentiated from Klan propaganda: the comment, "these dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling, non-preferred continentals," was not the vituperation of a Klan Kleagle but of Dr. Lloyd, Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan.³ Again, on giving his reasons for urging the voters to oust the Government, the Bishop said, "I shall vote against the Gardiner government" because Mr. Gardiner's policy on immigration is "non-British, if not anti-British" and he "has deliberately thrown dust into the eyes of the public on this question." In addition,

¹See reports of the work of the Council in The Canadian Churchman, Sept. 17, 1925; Aug. 4, 1927, and Social Welfare, April, 1927.

²King Papers, p. 129769.

³Regina Star, May 29, 1929.

I shall vote against the Gardiner government because of its miserable conduct in connection with the objectionable French text book. If Mr. Gardiner cannot see the objections to such a book being used in any state aided school in this province, then he is not fit to be premier of the province and I shall do my best to unseat him and put someone else in his place. ¹

It was not surprising that Klan lecturers referred to the Anglican position in substantiating their condemnation of the Government's immigration policy. ² Nor was it unexpected that someone should make the comment, regarding the ascendance of the Klan in Saskatchewan, that "a gentleman like Bishop Lloyd, of Saskatoon, is not helping the situation any in his province, but perhaps he is a member of the Klan himself." ³

Other denominations were also represented in the Invisible Empire: Reverends John Kovach, Kipling, E. A. McLaren, Kinistino, of the Presbyterian Church, were involved in their respective local Klans, and Rev. Walker, a chaplain in the Orange Lodge, closed with prayer the Klan organizational meeting in Kerrobert; ⁴ Rev. W. Kupfer, a

¹Ibid., June 5, 1929.

²Puckering at Unity, Unity Courier, April 18, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13516.

³Winnipeg Free Press, Oct. 18, 1928. Comment of Alderman J. Blumberg of Winnipeg. See G.P., Section XII, Newspaper clippings, for Bishop Lloyd's statements on immigration for period Oct. 3, 1927 - June 5, 1929. See also The Sentinel, Dec. 2, 1926; July 26, 1928, and The Lance, Simpson, May 3, 1928, G.P., p. 14080, for Anglican pronouncements on Roman Catholic influence in government, natural resources, and immigration.

⁴Kovach is listed as a member for Kipling, G.P., p.

Lutheran minister, was a member of the Moose Jaw Klan,¹ and Rev. Thomas Bunting, a Klan organizer, belonged to a Pentecostal denomination.²

Altogether, at least twenty-six Protestant ministers were either bona fide members of the Ku Klux Klan or directly involved in it. The following chart provides a denominational comparison, and figures for total clergy and memberships:

12440; McLaren was reported as one of the speakers at Klan rally in Melfort, Kinistino Representative May 29, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13631; Walker was mentioned in the Kerrobert Citizen, March 28, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13487, and The Sentinel, Aug. 11, 1925, p. 6. See Bennett Papers, p. 25460, for letter from McLaren offering his services to the Conservative party in the 1930 election. All three ministers were listed under "Minister or Missionary" in a ledger of the Presbyterian Synod's Home Missionary projects in Saskatchewan for 1929. The ledger is in the historical documents of the First Presbyterian Church in Regina.

¹G.P., p. 12457. See Bennett Papers, p. 25022, The Western Freedman, April 5, 1928, G.P., p. 12855, and The Sentinel, Dec. 13, 1928, for reports of Lutheran disillusionment with the Liberal party. Dr. K. Holfeld, President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, in an interview with the author, recalled meeting Premier Gardiner on a train around 1929. The Premier appeared to be "very concerned" about the Klan and asked whether it had penetrated the Lutheran communities. He gave Dr. Holfeld a book on the Klan and asked him to read it. Interview, Dec. 21, 1967.

²Saskatoon Daily Star, Jan. 25, 1928.

	<u>No. of Ministers in Klan</u>	<u>Total No. of Ministers in Denomination</u>	<u>Membership</u> ¹
United Church	13	408	243,399
Baptist	4		22,613
Anglican	4	151	126,837
Presbyterian	3	25	67,954
Lutheran	1	27 ²	113,676
Pentecostal	1		4,970

Clearly such figures are incomplete and there is no way of achieving any certainty regarding the pattern of clerical affiliation with the Klan. They remain somewhat suggestive, however. The United Church may have contributed the greater number absolutely, but proportionately, the more conservative and fundamental the church, the greater was the tendency of Clergy to endorse the Klan openly.

Other significant observations, however, can also be made. Although the United Church ministers were in the majority in the ranks of the Klan, all of them were serving small country parishes; with one exception, Dr. W. S. Reid of Saskatoon, the same could be said of those who sympathized

¹The figures for this chart were taken from: Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, p. 528; Record of Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the United Church, Regina, May 31 to June 5, 1928, p. 129; Minutes of the Twenty-third Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church, Prince Albert, Nov. 6-8, 1928, p. 24; Year Book of the Church of England in Canada, 1928.

²This figure is approximate and was derived from Canada District, American Lutheran Church, Jubilee Yearbook 1958, pp. 17-38. There were other branches of the Lutheran Church but Rev. Kupfer, of Moose Jaw, belonged to the above denomination.

with the order. The Baptist ministers, however, were all from large centres of population (Moose Jaw, Regina, and Estevan) and three of the four actively promoted the organization. Of the remainder of the clergymen -- Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Pentecostal -- only the Lutheran was listed as a member of a city Klan and only one Anglican resided in a city who expressed sympathy for the order. It appears, then, that the tendency was for small town ministers to join the Klan, with the Baptists being the notable exceptions.

The most striking aspect of the ministerial response, however, was the silence, and apparently acquiescence, of the majority of Saskatchewan clergymen. But not all Protestant clergy remained silent on the issue. At least six ministers openly denounced the hooded fraternity -- all of them within the United Church.¹ There was Rev. H. D. Ranns, of Biggar, who had been a devoted student of Salem Bland in Winnipeg and was an advocate of the social gospel,² whom Maloney called a "yellow dog" because he

¹Opponents were as follows: Reverends H. D. Ranns, Biggar (see Letter to the Editor, Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 27, 1928; Ranns to Gardiner, Aug. 24, 1927, and Feb. 14, 1928, G.P., pp. 12038, 12094), E. F. Church, Moose Jaw (see Moose Jaw Times, Oct. 6, 1927), Dr. Chas. Endicott, Saskatoon (see Regina Post, Oct. 19, 1927), Dr. J. L. Nicol, Rosetown (see Nicol to Gardiner, Feb. 7, 1928, G.P., p. 12085), E. R. M. Brecken, Young (see Letter to Editor, Young Journal, March 1, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13460), and W. A. Davis, Birch Hills (see Gazette, April 25, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 12189).

²A. R. Allen, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in

refused to debate with him in public.¹ Ranns bluntly condemned the Knights from the pulpit and in the press. "If we want our province to become like Indiana," he wrote in The New Outlook, the national publication of the United Church of Canada, "terrorized and dominated by a set of bigots and ignorant law breakers, then we ought to welcome the Klan."² Closer to home, in the Manitoba Free Press, he informed the editor that

in Saskatchewan the net result of the coming of the infamous Klan has been to divide hitherto unified towns and cities, to breed an amount of bitterness and hate among neighbours that the writer has never before experienced in twenty years of western residence, and to embroil the politics of Saskatchewan in a hopeless tangle of recriminations that are no manner of use to the public good.³

Dr. Charles Endicott, of Saskatoon, another minister of the social gospel persuasion, clearly stated his position on the Klan at a United Church conference: "I have no objection to everyone knowing I am absolutely opposed to the Klan."⁴ Rev. E. F. Church, minister of Zion United Church in Moose Jaw -- that hotbed of Saskatchewan Klanism, de-

Canada" (unpublished Masters' thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961), pp. 68-69. Ranns continued Bland's column in the Grain Grower's Guide following Bland's departure from the West in 1919.

¹Ranns to Gardiner, Feb. 14, 1928, G.P. p. 12094.

²Aug. 3, 1927, p. 14.

³Ranns to Editor, Oct. 27, 1928.

⁴Regina Morning Leader, June 4, 1928.

nounced the order as a "shallow organization" and stated that "if he wanted to fight Catholics he would do it as a gentleman, and not shrouded in a white hood."¹ There was Rev. W. A. Davis, of Birch Hills, who pointed to the unchristian activities of the American organization in a sermon on "Christianity and the Klan." The Klan was dying in the United States, he declared, but was being "exploited" in Canada, especially in Saskatchewan. "Men come along, claiming to be Protestant, the people know little or nothing about them, but bow to them, hailing them as the Saviours of the age."² And then Rev. E. R. M. Brecken, of Young, a former missionary in West China for fifteen years, expressed in the columns of the local press the opinion that the Klan was "unpatriotic, unchristian, mischievous in its methods, and can prove to be only disastrous in its results."³

As might be expected in the traditional Protestant Churches, the local congregations did not always agree with their ministers on the question of the value of the Klan. Rev. H. D. Ranns probably was the most active opponent of the Klan among the clergy -- a fact that resulted in repercussions in his pastoral charge of Biggar and it is said,

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 3, 1927.

²Birch Hills Gazette, April 25, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 12189.

³Young Journal, March 1, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13460.

though difficult to document, in his resignation from the Biggar United Church.¹ In another small town in Saskatchewan, a minister refused a request that Maloney be permitted to conduct meetings in his church. Maloney's supporters were persistent, however, and brought the request before the church board -- the minister was overruled by six votes to two.² So strong became the Klan question in some local congregations that one young minister, upon entering a new pastorate, was immediately confronted by, in his words, "some off-scoured members of the church board" who asked him whether he belonged to the Klan: "I hardly knew how to answer the question I was wondering whether I should say 'No, but I will join later,' [or to say] simply 'No.'"³

The encounter with the Klan, furthermore, reached beyond the local congregations to the higher courts of the Church. The Saskatoon Presbytery of the United Church, for example, on October 18, 1927, went on record as opposing the order. Dr. Charles Endicott moved and Rev. J. A. Donnell seconded the following resolution:

¹Interview with Dr. R. D. Tannahill, Archivist at St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, Dec. 20, 1967.

²The Sentinel, June 14, 1928, p. 9.

³File on K.K.K., Glenbow Foundation, Calgary.

Whereas it is being stated that the United Church is backing the Ku Klux Klan and that the people are being asked to join the organization because of that fact. Therefore this Presbytery of Saskatoon desires to place on record: First -- That the United Church is not supporting the K.K.K. in any way. Second -- That this Presbytery believes that the principles of the K.K.K. are in opposition to the teaching of Jesus and therefore cannot be supported by the United Church of Canada. Third -- That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Conference for further action if they see fit, also to the Press. 1

When the Saskatoon resolution came before the Saskatchewan Conference, however, the Committee on References And Overtures simply recommended "that Conference refrain from making any deliverance on the question." This same committee, however, at the same conference, when presenting a resolution from the Presbyteries of Wilkie, Saskatoon, and Assiniboia protesting the use of a French text book in the public schools -- an issue the Klan was using to embarrass the Liberal Government -- recommended "in view of the serious nature of the situation disclosed by the foregoing communications . . . that Conference appoint a special committee to consider the same and to bring in to present Conference pronouncement upon the issue involved."² The question might well be asked why the committee asked the Conference to refrain from discussing the Klan, and in the

¹Minute Record Book of the Saskatoon Presbytery of the United Church of Canada, June 10, 1925 to May 30, p. 91.

²Record of Proceedings of the Fourth Conference, Regina, May 31 to June 5, 1928, pp. 65-66.

next breath recommended that the sensitive and controversial political issue of the French textbook be discussed and judged.

In reporting the Conference for a Regina newspaper, Rev. H. D. Ranns remarked that "there was quite a breeze in the conference" when the resolution was presented. He continued:

There was instantly a murmur of interest and an atmosphere of tension. What would happen? It was evident that a large body of ministers and laymen, certainly not because they supported the Klan but in the desire for harmony, wished to shelve the matter. In the end, that desire really prevailed¹

Not everyone agreed with Rev. Ranns' report of the Saskatchewan Conference. The Creelman Gazette editorialized on June 7th:

We have read the report of the United Church Conference at Regina and regret that the narrow views shown and expounded by Dr. Endicott of the Saskatoon Presbytery and by the Rev. H. D. Ranns in his bitter and bigoted article to the press, should convey a possible false impression of the majority of the Christian gentlemen gathered there.

The article went on to refer to the use of the word "damnable" by the Rev. J. A. Donnell in regard to the Klan, "a society which has thousands of christians and lawabiding citizens in its ranks," as the height of "ignorant impudence and arrogant smug self-satisfaction. The mentality of the inquisition

¹Regina Morning Leader, June 4, 1928; also Regina Daily Post, June 4, 1928. See also The United Church Observer, Dec. 15, 1965, p. 12, for further comments.

still lingers in priestly circles."¹

The reaction of the Presbytery of Assiniboia to the Klan was quite the reverse of that of the Saskatoon Presbytery. Located in the southwest corner of the province, this Presbytery of the United Church reflected the enthusiasm of the local populace for the Klan. In the period 1926-1927, it had seven ministers who were Klansmen.² This Presbytery had been one of the three Presbyteries raising the French text book issue by sending overtures to the Saskatchewan Conference of 1928. There was strong evidence of the activity of Klansmen on the committees of the Presbytery. In February, 1930, the Assiniboia Presbytery appointed a committee to investigate the Gravelbourg public school situation and draft another resolution to be presented at the provincial Conference of that year. Two of the three members appointed to the committee were Klansmen, Rev. S. P. Rondeau and R. H. Stinson, a layman from McCord.³ On another occasion, three members of the Klan were appointed to the Social Service Committee. Their report paid little

¹Clipping, G.P., p. 13675.

²Reverends A. W. Keeton, Mossbank, D. E. Freek, Climax, S. P. Rondeau, Woodrow, W. H. Madill, Kincaid, L. R. Bouchard, Ponteix, T. Musto, Verwood, J. McKnight, La Fleche. See Minutes of the Presbytery of Assiniboia, Archives of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon; Record of Proceedings of the Third Conference, Moose Jaw, May 26-31, 1927; G.P., p. 12411.

³See G.P., p. 12443, for membership of McCord Klan; also Minutes of the Presbytery of Assiniboia, Feb. 15-16, 1930, n.p.

attention to the more progressive resolutions which frequently marked Social Service pronouncements of the Conference as a whole, but concentrated on the more moralistic issues: it recommended that steps be taken by Presbytery to see that the gambling law will be enforced, that the government be made aware "of the large amount of bootlegging in this Presbytery," that ministers inform their congregations that "there is a law which prohibits unnecessary work on the Sabbath Day" and that "posters containing Sabbath Day observance laws be placed in public places."¹

The analysis, then, of Saskatchewan clergymen identified in Klan membership lists and newspaper reports reveals that the United Church not only contributed more supporters of the Klan but provided all of its opposition. Of the ten ministers who joined the Klan, five were former Presbyterians,² at least two were former Methodists,³ and two were members of the Orange Lodge.⁴ Four of the six ministers who opposed the order can be identified as three

¹Minutes of the Presbytery of Assiniboia, Limerick, Feb. 9, 1927, p. 15.

²See Acts and Proceedings of the Fifty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, June 3-9, 1925, pp. 548, 553, 555.

³Interview with Rev. R. D. Tannahill, Archivist at St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon.

⁴Record and Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, 1929, pp. 5-6.

former Presbyterians, and one former Methodist; and of the three who sympathized with the Klansmen, one was formerly Presbyterian and the others Methodist.¹ Again, although figures are not complete enough for sound analysis, it would appear that former Presbyterians were as susceptible to the Klan's propaganda in Saskatchewan, as the Methodists were in the United States.²

There might seem to have been an incongruity in the fact that a church like the United Church should have harboured such diverse reactions to the Klan. The explanation would seem to be not so much with the Klan itself as with the contrary currents sweeping Protestantism at large. Fundamentalism was arising to contest the gains of liberal theology; social conservatism was engaging in a counter-attack upon the social gospel. It was true that in Saskatchewan, as Richard Hofstadter observed in the United States,³ the churches harbouring the leading advocates of the social gospel were also the churches giving the strongest support to the prohibition movement.⁴ Furthermore, in

¹Acts and Proceedings . . . , pp. 544, 552, 553, 554; Interview with Rev. R. D. Tannahill.

²Chalmers, p. 293.

³R. Hofstadter, The Age Of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 290.

⁴See A. R. Allen, "Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada" (Unpublished Ph.d. Thesis, Duke University, South Carolina, 1966), especially pp. 12-15 and Chapter XVII.

Saskatchewan these same churches seemed to provide both a substantial part of the Klan membership and its opposition. On prohibition, the social gospel and fundamentalism could co-operate because, for the former, it would eradicate a social evil, and, for the latter, it would remove an obstacle of temptation impeding the christian pilgrim's progress on the road to salvation. When it came to the Klan, however, there was a distinct parting of the way; the social gospellers either ignored or denounced it,¹ while many of the conservatives either joined and tacitly endorsed the organization or became ardent proponents of it.² Perhaps this dichotomy of response within the same Churches is explained by the fact that the Klan offered the conservatives an opportunity to participate in a superficial way in the progressive movement for social reform without compromising their fundamentalist theological viewpoint. Therefore, as a conservative appropriation of an element of social response and progressivism, the Ku Klux Klan became an outlet for the genuine concern of some social conservatives.

¹Reverends Ranns and Endicott of the United Church are good examples of the social gospel attitude towards the Klan.

²Reverends Rondeau, Reid, Keeton, of the United Church, and Hind, Surman, Russell of the Baptist Church are good examples of the conservative response.

about current social conditions.¹

From the ultra-Protestant Orangemen to the fundamentalists within the traditional Protestant Churches, the Protestant response to the Klan in Saskatchewan was enthusiastic. Although not obtaining the official sanction of any of the denominations, the failure of most Protestant Churches to denounce the order and the affiliation and support of some twenty-six ministers undoubtedly assisted the organizers in recruiting Protestants into The Invisible Empire.

3

In the midst of this revival of ultra-Protestantism, how did the other religious groups react, especially those attacked by the Klansmen? In 1927, the Roman Catholic population in Saskatchewan was approaching 233,000, a substantial segment of the province's population of approximately 850,000.² The Roman Catholic reaction was predictable. Le Patriote de l'Ouest, the French-Canadian

¹See Charles C. Alexander, The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press 1966), p. 20, for Klan's attitude to reform: "'Reform of some sort has been the moving spirit of the Klan.'" For observations on a not entirely dissimilar movement, Social Credit, gaining from a reaction to the social gospel, see Harold J. Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 45, 1964, p. 189.

²Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, p. 529.

newspaper, expressed typical Catholic sentiments in 1927: "We regard the tolerance towards the Ku Klux Klan at the present time only as an incident of a systematic campaign against us in which the Government is liable to sacrifice its friends instead of muzzling a band of fanatics."¹ The comments of L'Action Catholique were more penetrating and condemnatory in reporting Premier Gardiner's attack on the Klan in the legislature: "Mr. Gardiner has very likely offended the Orangemen in his district . . . for the reason that these . . . imbeciles have nothing but admiration for the Ku Klux Klan's ridiculous or criminal silliness."²

As Klan activities expanded, Le Patriote became more alarmed.

They have already started their work. They have attacked the crucifix which they have torn from the walls of one school. The teaching of French and catechism is now being attacked. They will make attempts to drag our trustees in court. ³

The article went on to call for a united front by the ethnic communities: "English, Polish, German, Ruthenians, Franco-Canadians, etc., we must all get together" to repulse "the common enemy" and we "have a meeting point which disregards contingencies of nature and countries, viz: the Catholic religion."⁴ Again, on June 13, 1928:

¹Sept. 21, 1927, G.P., p. 12028.

²Feb. 14, 1928, ibid., p. 13405.

³May 16, 1928, ibid., p. 13593.

⁴Ibid.

If we are attacked as French-Canadians it must not be forgotten that we are also attacked as Catholics and that consequently it will be necessary to make arrangements with other Catholic groups to organize our common defence. Our adversaries will then realize that we form a force that it would have been better not to challenge. ¹

The Catholic reaction manifested itself in other forms. The directors of the St. Jean Baptiste society and the Franco-Canadian Association of Willow Bunch, for example, sent "a vote of thanks to the Prime Minister, the Honorable J. G. Gardiner, for the firm stand taken by him with regard to the Ku Klux Klan, the sworn enemy of our faith." ² The Knights of Columbus protested the decision of the Regina City Council to rent Maloney the City Hall: "As citizens of this city and taxpayers we feel that the council in future should refuse to rent the City Hall to individuals or organizations whose sole purpose in coming here appears to be to give vent to false and insulting tirades against the Catholic Church." ³ The Prairie Messenger, published by the Order of St. Benedict at Muenster, lauded the action of the Government in deporting Dr. J. H. Hawkins:

While we are not interested in the political aspect of the case, we must congratulate the government on this action, and view it as a practical move towards insuring peace at least on the prairies of Saskatchewan. Of course, some will see in this act the covert operations of Rome's political machine in Canada, while one or the other political party may consider it simply

¹G.P., p. 13676.

²Secretary to Gardiner, Feb. 18, 1928, G.P., p. 12126.

³Regina Leader, Oct. 28, 1927.

as a drastic step towards furthering the interests of the present government. All of this notwithstanding, we believe it a judicious move towards halting the influx of religious bigotry and racial prejudice which has come over our southern border with the past year. ¹

Individual Roman Catholics did not remain quiet either: a St. Boniface priest described D. C. Grant as a "coward and an unreliable authority" and stated that "the Roman Catholic church would fight [the Klan] to the full extent of its power."² Another priest, Father M. Mourey, of Viscount, resorted to the local press in publicly denying Klan statements made at a meeting he had attended:

Everything went on fine while the plans of the Klan were laid bare; its aims revealed and its lofty ideals brought to my notice; especially its retrospect and broadmindedness towards all religions Suddenly the real fighting spirit of the Klan took possession of the speaker . . . in his combatting fervor he lost memory of his previous statements . . . a cat playing gently with you first sometimes forgets and protrudes an offensive claw; that is what happened to the lecturer

When Father Mourey attempted to protest by challenging some of the speaker's statements, "the broadmindedness, the tolerance, the freedom of speech and all such nice things were forgotten and after a few words I was ordered to listen quietly or to leave the room, under the pretence that this was HIS meeting and I was HIS GUEST."³ Then there was the

¹July 18, 1928; see also Feb. 13, 1929, for article accusing the Klan of bringing to Saskatoon a "fake" ex-nun.

²Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 19, 1968.

³Viscount Sun, June 8, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13682.

lawyer who objected to the Premier's "daily" reference to the Roman Catholic Church in his speeches, and who telegraphed the Minister of Health, Hon. J. M. Uhrich, asking him to inform the Premier that "if he has a fight on with the klan leave us out [stop] we are well able to take care of ourselves and the klan [stop] we love our enemies and get on better for having them [stop] God save us from our apologizing friends."¹

Although anti-Catholicism overshadowed all other sentiments expressed by the Klan, there were elements of anti-semitism in Klan propaganda. On one occasion, with regard to Jews, Hawkins remarked "it was not the fact that they . . . had different religious beliefs that barred them from the Klan, but the fact that they could not comply with the conditions which were set up for membership."² D. C. Grant also stated that the Klan would "willingly" admit to its membership members of any faith if they were prepared to embrace the principles for which the order stood. Referring to the Jewish faith, however, "he admitted that the Jews were Protestants, insofar that they believed in God. They were the people, however, who crucified the Son of God,

¹J. D. Brown, Rosthern, to Minister of Health, June 23, 1928, G.P., p. 12289.

²Unity Courier, June 27, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13723. See also Report of Hawkins' speech at Regina on Feb. 16, 1928, G.P., p. 12527.

therefore they did not believe in Him."¹

For the most part, it appears that the members of the Hebrew religion ignored the Klan; the Jewish press, however, did not fail to hail Mr. Gardiner's denunciation of the hooded order as an act of virtue and courage. "'Jimmy' Gardiner once more stamps himself as among the more liberal and courageous of Canadian statesmen," praised The Western Jewish News, "his attitude toward those of non-British origin in this province is one worthy of emulation by all public officials."² The article continued in a vitriolic vein:

the Ku Klux Klan's purpose in Canada is only that of making money. Its promoters find racial prejudice a fertile field in which to plough for shekels. While the organizers are not serious in their alleged aims, those who become members apparently haven't brains enough to see the paltriness of the organization to which they belong. They take themselves seriously. The most regrettable feature of the Ku Klux Klan's advent into Saskatchewan is that it has aroused racial prejudices in a simple type of mind.

One of the numerous letters congratulating Gardiner for his stand against the Klan in the legislature was written by Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, of Toronto, who seems to have taken more than passing interest in the Klan in Saskatchewan.³ Writing in the Canadian Jewish Review, he related interviews he had with Imperial Wizard Rosborough and Emmons.

¹Manitoba Free Press, June 8, 1928.

²Feb. 2, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 12062.

³G.P., p. 12132.

A half hour of conversation with Rosborough, he commented, "failed to convince me that the Klan was not an organization inimical to Canada's highest interest." After an informative interview with Emmons, he concluded the Klan was "the most colossal swindle put over on the American people in all their history."¹

Since at this period the Jewish population in Saskatchewan was small, consisting of less than five thousand in a population of almost nine hundred thousand,² it is difficult to document the average Jewish layman's reaction to the Ku Klux Klan. But perhaps the letter written to the editor of The Western Producer on September 20, 1928, may provide some indication of Jewish sentiments: "As a Jew I am not asking for mercy, because the British flag will protect me; I am not asking you to pity us; I am not asking praise. What I do ask is justice, broadmindedness and fair play."

Thus the Ku Klux Klan, in addition to and underlying its appeals to racism, patriotism, and moralism, was a religiously oriented organization, violently anti-Catholic in sentiment and strongly fundamentalist in nature. Its anti-semitism alienated the Jew; its pronounced antipathy towards the Roman Catholic Church, the Catholic; and its

¹June 15, 1928, clipping, ibid., p. 13791. See also Saskatoon Phoenix, June 4, 1928.

²Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, p. 529.

heavy emphasis on fundamentalism and reactionary attitudes, the liberal churchman. There is little evidence, if any, that strongly conservative Protestants ever denounced the Klan in Saskatchewan; there is an abundance of evidence, however, to prove that many conservative Protestants heartily embraced and promoted the principles of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the two years prior to the 1929 election, the Ku Klux Klan had managed to penetrate almost every aspect of Saskatchewan society -- from the farming communities to the Protestant Churches. It claimed to be above all else a religious organization; in reality, however, it was more of a politico-religious order. In Saskatchewan, the Klan did its best to ally social, political and religious conservatism in its effort to unseat the Liberal Government of Premier Gardiner. The political conniving of the Klan and the political parties of the Opposition was a natural outgrowth of this preoccupation.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KLAN AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

1

Although the Klan knew well which party in Saskatchewan was its determined enemy, one thing is clear regarding its involvement in Saskatchewan politics: no one party had a monopoly on Klan membership. The message preached by the Invisible order appealed so strongly to the latent prejudices of a large sector of the Saskatchewan electorate that it overcame the barriers erected by party politics. Even Liberal supporters succumbed to the emotional onslaught competently carried out by professional organizers. This fact turned out to be the key to its important influence in the political scene between 1926 and 1930.

Socially conglomerate, relatively non-ideological, and broadly provincial and non-partisan in the tradition of prairie regimes, the Liberal party and government was vulnerable to the intrusion of an ideology which stressed an identity of racial, religious and provincial interest.¹ The Klan was such an intrusion. It would be too much to expect

¹Kyba, p. 94.

opposition parties not to exploit at least some of the unrest created. However, an unpredictable portion of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant section of Saskatchewan Liberalism would be attracted by Klan arguments. The tradition of Canadian Liberalism carried within it enough of George Brown and Thomas Greenway for such Liberals to feel no disloyalty in associating with the Klan. In any case, they were doing so. As a Liberal party worker complained to Premier Gardiner after a Klan meeting in Kerrobert:

I am trying to keep out of things here as on account of my position. It would do no good, but it is difficult. And about all I can do is to keep Liberals from wavering and we may as well admit there are quite a number. ¹

Again, in a Moose Jaw newspaper editorial, after the Premier had attacked the Klan in the Legislature: "Worse than all he combines in his castigation all those who do not think as he does. He does not seem to realize that many of his own followers are members of the Klan." ²

Rumours were circulating in the province to the effect that the Klan executive in Saskatchewan consisted primarily of Liberals and that members of the Cabinet were involved. In the Lemberg debate, for example, Dr. Hawkins claimed that eight of the ten Klan executives and sixty-

¹E. B. Hutcherson to Gardiner, June 20, 1928, G.P., p. 12288.

²Moose Jaw Merchants Weekly, March 9, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13470.

five percent of the membership belonged to the Liberal party.¹ Records of the Klan membership, however, do not substantiate so large a claim; but they do contain the names of some prominent Liberals, including the name of at least one Liberal M. L. A.²

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that more than a minority of Protestant Anglo-Saxon Liberals joined the Klan; the majority supported the Premier in his outright denunciation of the order. Some of them even tried to use their opposition and hostility to the Klan as a lever to pry favours from the provincial Government. The secretary of the Meyronne Board of Trade, for instance, brought the following to the Government's attention:

Considering the support given the Government by the voters of Meyronne district heretofore, and the activity of the many Government supporters here at present in offsetting the Ku Klux Klan (which organization is undeniably strong in Woodrow), we believe that our petitions in regard to the Meyronne-Woodrow section of Highway No. 13 should receive your attention."³

¹Moose Jaw Herald, July 7, 1928; also Regina Leader, July 19, 1928.

²J. A. Wilson, M. L. A. for Rosetown. Compare Directory of Saskatchewan, p. 73, and G.P., p. 12482, for membership of Rosetown Klan. See also Manitoba Free Press, June 16, 1928, for letter to editor from a Liberal of "thirty years standing," and compare with G.P., p. 12430, for membership of Fort Qu'Appelle Klan.

³R. E. Johnson to Hon. G. Spence, Minister of Highways, June 26, 1928, Department of Highways, file No. 13-J-C, Provincial Highway Woodrow to Meyronne. This letter was brought to my attention by Provincial Archivist Allan Turner.

The most outspoken opponent of the Klan in Saskatchewan was Premier J. G. Gardiner. M. J. Coldwell recalled that although he had "often tangled with him and critized him," he greatly respected the Premier's courage for "the manner in which he stood firmly against the Klan."¹ Gardiner had begun his attack on the Klan in the Legislature in January, 1928. Armed with information gathered by detectives and willing informants from at least four localities in Saskatchewan, he spent the month of June denouncing the Klan in speeches throughout the province.² He squarely faced the order's charges against his Government in every speech, quoting statistics to prove that not more than six of 4,776 school districts were experiencing any difficulties,³ that the 1921 and 1926 census returns revealed that the alien population was not increasing,⁴ and that "the percentage of Catholics in the whole Civil Service is 12.88 per cent whereas . . . the percentage of our population which is Catholic is 19.44."⁵

¹Transcript of interview with M. J. Coldwell, June 19, 1963, Saskatchewan Archives, Regina.

²Informants wrote from Outlook, Balcarres, Moose Jaw, and Tisdale, G.P., pp. 12044, 12054, 12041, 12122, 12124, 12184; see also pp. 12219, 12042.

³Rosetown Eagle, June 21, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13710; see also The Courier, June 6, and Battleford Press, June 14, 1928, G.P., pp. 13669, 13688.

⁴Prince Albert Daily Herald, June 22, 1928, ibid., p. 13717.

⁵Gardiner to R. C. Hall, May 18, 1928, ibid., p. 12264.

Gardiner regarded the results of his meetings rather optimistically: "So far the campaign has been a very successful one. It would now appear that they can accomplish very little more in this Province."¹ And in a letter to Mackenzie King on June 7th:

As a result of the experience which I had in those meetings I would say that, when we have covered the whole province as we intend to do this month, Liberalism will be stronger in Saskatchewan than it has been previously. ²

It is probably true that the Premier's anti-Klan campaign did consolidate Liberal support but within a few weeks, however, his optimism was shaken by the close victory his party won in the Arm River by-election.

2

While it may be said that the majority of anti-Klan sentiment in Saskatchewan came from Liberals; conversely, the major part of Klan support was derived from Conservatives. This development, it appears, was not peculiar to Saskatchewan as the Conservative party in other provinces also looked favourably upon Klan support.³ The

¹Gardiner to J. E. Huckins, Goderich, Ontario, Aug. 14, 1928, *ibid.*, p. 12316. See also Gardiner to H. D. Ranns, Feb. 15, 1928, *G.P.*, p. 12091.

²King Papers, p. 129769.

³References to the organization outside of Saskatchewan tend to substantiate this: in British Columbia, the Conservative opposition was successful in defeating a resolution expressing disapproval of the Klan's entrance into the

Scribe of the Vancouber Klan summed up the relationship quite succinctly: "Klancraft as practised in this country since its inception . . . has been primarily a Conservative Political Organization, and as such was instituted in Canada about 1922." He added that the Conservative leaders "were all ready and willing to receive our co-operation and indirectly supply funds during the campaign to the end of electing a conservative administration" but spurned the order after being elected.¹

That Conservative leaders in Saskatchewan were involved with the Klan has already been intimated -- affidavits sworn by Emmons and Puckering that Anderson had sought Klan assistance, the many occasions J. F. Bryant, a Conservative lawyer and later a Minister in Adnerson's cabinet, represented

province, Canadian Annual Review (hereafter cited C. A. R.), 1925-1926, p. 516. In Alberta, the Conservatives were accused of using the Klan to win the provincial by-election at Red Deer, J. H. Hurley, Edmonton, to King, Nov., 1931, King Papers, p. 158597. King replied on Dec. 1st: "Your letter and the enclosures confirm what I have heard of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Alberta and the use which is being made of this organization, for political purposes, by the Conservative Party." Ibid., p. 158608. In Ontario, the Tories were charged with "trying to repeat . . . the Saskatchewan performance" of June, 1929, by taking advantage of issues raised by the Klansmen, "Memorandum on Organization" by Andrew Hayden, Sept. 17, 1929, ibid., pp. 138086-138094. And in New Brunswick, "a Conservative member of Parliament . . . had considerable to do with organizing the Klan to turn out the Government of that Province," Gardiner to Rev. Dr. J. L. Nicol, Feb. 11, 1928, G.P., p. 12076.

¹Circular letter from Klan, Oct. 3, 1931, Meighen Papers, p. 104173; see also pp. 104145, 104156.

Klansmen, the fact that Dr. W. D. Cowan, a former Conservative M. P., was the Klan treasurer for Saskatchewan, and Klan and Conservative collaboration in the Arm River by-election, and this was not the sum total of the evidence. "Less than two weeks before the trial," wrote Gardiner to the secretary of the Wapella Liberal Association, "Puckering, Snelgrove and Anderson were in the towns of Simpson and Imperial. On the same day they had conferences together¹ and the Klan was organized in both towns on that day"; "One of the reasons that I knew that there was an intimate connection between the Klan and [Conservatives]," recalled M. J. Coldwell, "was that one evening I was in the Kitchener Hotel and I saw Dr. Anderson and he introduced me to a man called Hawkins" ² In addition to this evidence, the very fact that the Klan membership records contain the names of prominent Conservatives suggests, though does not prove conclusively, a direct link with the Conservative party. ³ Other evidence, however, does strongly

¹May 18, 1928, G.P., p. 12216.

²Transcript of Interview with M. J. Coldwell, June 19, 1963.

³Names such as Nat Given of Delisle, J. A. Merkeley and James Pascoe of Moose Jaw, W. W. Miller of Biggar, and William Smith of Swift Current appear on membership lists for the respective locals, G.P., pp. 12426, 12463, 12467, 12427, 12486, compare with Directory of Saskatchewan, pp. 61, 67, 68, 70; see also Moose Jaw Evening Times, March 11, 1930, p. 6, for report of "Conservative Banquet at Readlyn" and compare with membership lists for Assiniboia and Readlyn, G.P., pp. 12414, 12479.

suggest such a connection.

In early 1928, about the time Gardiner was launching his attack on the Klan, Dr. W. D. Cowan, the prominent Regina Conservative who was Klan treasurer, informed R. B. Bennett:

The Liberal machine used to control all societies here and made them auxiliaries to their party. For the past two years we have been undermining them. We now have a good three years control of quite a number. We shoved the Grits out at the top and pushed Conservatives in at the bottom and then promoted. The one (initials scribbled on the back) is the most complete political organization ever known in the west. Every organizer in it is a Tory. It costs over a thousand dollars a week to pay them. I know it for I pay them. And I never pay a Grit. Smile when you hear anything about this organization. And keep silent. ¹

The letter is almost certainly a reference to the Ku Klux Klan.

Another interesting and significant letter was written to Bennett on March 12th by F. R. MacMillan, President of the Provincial Conservative Association. The letter had been written in explanation of a wire sent to Bennett cancelling a request for guest speakers from the Commons for the Saskatchewan convention, and the reason given was that a "deal" was pending with the provincial Progressives and outside guests might not understand the circumstances. ² Since J. F. Bryant, however, informed

¹Cowan to Bennett, Jan. 16, 1928, Bennett Papers, p. 24885. Bennett replied on Feb. 1 but ignored the reference to "the most complete political organization."

²Ibid., p. 24938.

Bennett on March 5th that the Progressive executive had already agreed to the compromise, and since Bennett had told MacMillan on March 7th that he had arranged to have Mr. Quinn, a Roman Catholic M. P. from Halifax, address the convention, it is more plausible to think that another deal was in the air -- a deal particularly obnoxious to Quinn, a Roman Catholic, and as well a Conservative member¹ of the House of Commons and Knights of Columbus.

That the leaders of the Conservative party and the Ku Klux Klan consulted on the planks to be included in the party platform, and that the great majority of delegates acquiesced in these negotiations, is the burden of personal reports of the convention to R. B. Bennett. J. F. Bryant, with obvious satisfaction, reported:

We were extremely careful in connection with our handling of the Church problem and handling of the language question. The K.K.K. were very active indeed at the convention as were also the Orangemen. The head officers of both organizations were present and the organizers of the Klan being very evident throughout the hall. We had some difficulty in keeping them in the background but succeeded in doing so without any incident whatever The resolution however which was passed in connection with the school question met with the entire approval of the Protestant organizations. 2

Mr. J. H. Hearn, a Roman Catholic Conservative, observed

¹Bryant to Bennett, March 5, 1928, ibid., p. 24926; Bennett to MacMillan, March 7, 1928, ibid., p. 24927; see also J. H. Hearn, a Roman Catholic, to Bennett, March 28, ibid., p. 24987, for substantiation of this observation.

²Bryant to Bennett, March 16, 1928, ibid., p. 24951. Bryant asked that this letter be destroyed.

that Klan literature was distributed at the convention and suggested that

a deliberate attempt was made in the organization of the convention to have as many accredited delegates as possible members of the Klan but as to this I have no positive proof although it is quite noticeable and worthy of comment that out of over three hundred delegates there was only three Roman Catholics, namely, Mr. Foley of North Battleford, Mr. Leddy of Saskatoon and Mr. McKinnon [sic] of Regina . . . very able, active and efficient workers and supporters. ¹

Further, the Nominating Committee, out of fifty-seven candidates for office, named only two Catholics, Leddy and MacKinnon. What was worse, Mr. Leddy was asked to withdraw as "it was considered inexpedient that any Catholic should hold office in this organization." ² Leddy refused but was defeated in the election of the Advisory Council. MacKinnon met a similar, though more mysterious, fate. When the official list of nominees was read to the convention, MacKinnon's name was omitted and Dr. Guest's, from Regina, substituted. ³ An explanation that this had happened inadvertently in the dictating or typing of lists was unconvincing to Hearn: ⁴ "You yourself can see what a situation will

¹Hearn to Bennett, March 28, 1928, ibid., p. 24987.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Bryant wrote to Bennett on April 11, 1928: MacKinnon stated that the person who did this was Fred Somerville as he dictated the list of officers from a pencil memorandum to Diefenbaker of Prince Albert who was running the typewriter and making the copy for the convention . . . I approached Somerville and asked him if this was the case

be created in Quebec and in many of the Maritime Seats if this is broadcast over Canada, that the Conservative Party definitely links up with the Ku Klux Klan"¹

The above reports provided Mr. Bennett with Protestant and Catholic points of view; the need for an unbiased report was evident. MacKinnon himself wrote to Bennett on March 28 and suggested that Major MacPherson of Regina would give such a report.² MacPherson, writing on April 7th, reviewed the Klan's history in Saskatchewan and the conditions which fostered it, stated that Klansmen came from all parties, and that the order received "tremendous impetus" from Gardiner's attack in the Legislature, one result of which "was that undoubtedly a large number of Klansmen were delegates" to the Conservative convention. He regretted that not a single Catholic was elected to office in the party and feared that the election would be a "purely religious fight in the main," adding, however, with apparent personal satisfaction at the course of events, that "in

and he stated that it was not and that if any change had taken place it was in the typewriting. *Ibid.*, p. 25014. A letter to the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker brought the following reply: "Personally, I took a strong stand against the Klan for its principles were founded on discrimination based on colour, race and religion -- against which I have been a sworn enemy throughout life." Diefenbaker to author, March 7, 1968.

¹Hearn to Bennett, loc. cit.

²Bennett Papers, p. 25003.

many ways the Catholics cannot blame the Protestant Conservatives for endeavoring to profit by the religious cry" as the Roman Catholic church has "almost solidly supported the Liberals since 1905."

Bennett at first expressed apprehension at the conduct of the March convention and the Saskatchewan political situation in general; in the course of a year, however, reports blaming Premier Gardiner and his Ministers, and exonerating the Conservatives, for the racial and religious controversy raging in the province had their effect, enabling him, like MacPherson, to make the rationalization that the Liberals were reaping what they had sown.¹ On May 11, 1929, he wrote to Anderson:

You certainly have conducted a wonderful campaign and your physical strength must be nearly exhausted. Few things have pleased me more than hearing that our Roman Catholic friends no longer regard you as a bigot. The fact that they have been expressing approval of your speeches is very encouraging for nothing could be worse than that the idea should prevail that an effort is being made to conduct politics on religious lines.²

Again, on June 7, the day after Gardiner's defeat, Bennett cabled congratulations: "The unparalleled success of yesterday is undoubtedly due in very large measure to your persistent efforts and I hasten to congratulate you upon the most magnificent political victory of recent times."³ His

¹See ibid., pp. 25022, 25025, 25053, 25056, 25103, for favorable and optimistic reports of the situation.

²Ibid., p. 25267.

³Ibid., p. 25322.

change of attitude was made explicit in a later letter to A. G. MacKinnon, on February 5, 1930:

I wholly agree with you that religion should not enter into our political discussion When I recall the fact that the Conservative Party went out of office in 1896 by risking its life for the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba, I find it difficult to understand why there is such an effort being made to misrepresent the attitude of our party to the Catholic population of Canada. The present situation in Saskatchewan, I attribute entirely to the attitude of Mr. Gardiner and the Liberal party. ¹

Mr. Bennett's attitude is understandable in the light of constant statements by the leading Conservatives in Saskatchewan that they were not involved with the Klan, that the order was a spontaneous uprising against the Liberal government's "truckling to Romish influence," ² and that it "would be fatal to condemn the Klan." ³ When Emmons and Puckering signed affidavits alleging that Dr. Anderson and Dr. Cowan were using the organization as a political instrument, Bryant and Anderson were swift to deny it. "I do not like the look of these affidavits," wrote Bryant, "I had no idea that Dr. Anderson has so little discretion." He continued:

If the statements contained in the affidavits are true he has certainly placed the Party both in Saskatchewan and throughout Canada in a very difficult position. You can rest assured that the leading Conservatives are not mixed up with the Klan in Saskatchewan, outside of Dr.

¹Ibid., p. 25501.

²T. D. Agnew to Bennett, May 26, 1928, ibid., p. 25100.

³F. B. Reilly to Bennett, April 14, 1928, ibid., p. 25025.

1

W. D. Cowan.

On June 4th, Anderson informed Bennett that "the charge is being made by one Emmons that I was responsible for trying to get this organization into politics is a lie of the worst kind and statements and affidavits in the course of preparation will prove this to the satisfaction of all."²

There is no evidence, however, that the affidavits were ever taken or published.

In summary, then, the Liberal party condemned the Klan as something alien and potentially dangerous to the province of Saskatchewan -- the only position it could take in order to placate the strong Catholic and immigrant segments of its support. The Conservative party, on the other hand, likewise adopted an attitude that was politically expedient by taking advantage of the emotionalism aroused by the Klan, by secretly obtaining the endorsement of Klan leaders regarding certain planks in its platform, and by publicly remaining silent on the Klan issue.³

¹Bryant to Bennett, May 31, 1928, ibid., p. 25113.

²Anderson to Bennett, June 4, 1928, ibid., p. 25122. The only reference I found which might confirm this was a statement by Maloney that Puckering had signed another affidavit repudiating the former one. This must have been done, if it ever was, after October, 1928, as Gardiner "during his Arm River campaign . . . inferred that the affidavit must be correct because no action was taken against it." Regina Star, Nov. 12, 1928.

³See also Kyba, p. 29.

In the little that has been written about the Klan in Saskatchewan, the organization is depicted as the Conservative party's friend and the Liberal party's enemy; almost nothing is written about the Progressives, the official party of opposition in the Legislature.¹ Yet with regard to membership in the Klan, the Progressives probably ran a close second to the Conservatives. The names of some prominent Progressives appear in the Klan membership lists: Rev. A. J. Lewis, former Progressive M. P. defeated in the 1925 election, Kligrapp of the Strasbourg Klan; Thomas Teare, a charter member of "The New National Policy Political Association," later the Progressive party, member of the Moose Jaw Klavern; E. Jones, Secretary-Treasurer of Rosetown Progressive party organization, member of the Harris Klavern; J. W. Vandergrift, a member of the executive of the Progressive party for Maple Creek constituency, member of the Ponteix Klavern; John McCloy, a former Progressive candidate and a member of the Board of Directors of the U. F. C. (Saskatchewan Section), member of Kinistino Klavern; J. Balfour, a delegate to the Progressive Convention in January 1926, member of the Balcarres

¹Directory of Saskatchewan, p. 40. There were six Progressives, three Conservatives, two Independents, and the rest Liberal.

²G.P., p. 125081.

¹Klavern; and John Evans, another Progressive M. P.,
²addressed a Klan rally at Saskatoon. One can assume that
 if some Progressive leaders were members of the Klan, then
 many of the rank and file would follow suit. A brief look
 at the history of difficulty and defeat of the provincial
 Progressive party will suggest why it might have responded
 favourably to an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan.

Although federally Saskatchewan Progressives shared
 in the decline of party support from 1921 through 1925 and
 1926, ³provincially the party seemed to hold its own,
 electing the same number of M. L. A.'s in 1925 as in 1921.
 The fact was deceptive, for the number was only six, and
 the party, unlike the Progressives of Alberta and Manitoba,
 had been astutely outflanked by a Liberal government which
 dissociated itself from the federal party and retained its
 close ties with Saskatchewan farmers, the core of the elec-
⁴torate.

Disappointed, but not yet dispirited, Saskatchewan
 Progressives met in convention in Regina, December, 1925, to

¹G.P., pp. 12411-12510.

²The Reporter, Feb. 23, 1929, ibid., p. 12935.

³The Progressive vote declined by 73,925 from 1921
 to 1925 in federal elections in Saskatchewan. See Directory
of Members Of Parliament And Federal Elections For The
Northwest Territories And Saskatchewan 1887-1966 (hereafter
 cited Directory of Members), (Regina: The Saskatchewan
 Archives Board, 1967), p. 54.

⁴W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada
 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 98.

review their strategy. At this meeting, described as "one of the most successful gatherings" of Progressives in Saskatchewan, a resolution was unanimously adopted which stated that "the conditions in this province are such as to justify the demand that the federal Progressive organization should give active support to a provincial organization." It was also decided to recommend to the federal Progressive executive in Saskatchewan that a provincial organizer be appointed "to tour the province and co-ordinate Progressive activities and conduct a campaign of education in Progressive principles."¹ In justifying this action, C. E. Little, chairman of the press committee, stated that it "was brought about as a result of the change in the attitude of the Saskatchewan government since the 1921 federal election" as demonstrated by the use of the "provincial Liberal machine to defeat the Progressive at any price."² Thus, in the crisis of the 1925 defeats, the Progressives in Saskatchewan fought to preserve their independence by compromising one of their original principles -- that provincial and federal politics should be distinct. They decided to abandon this principle, considering it the lesser evil in combatting slow but steady absorption by the older parties.³

¹The Western Producer, Dec. 10, 1925, p. 1.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., January 14, 1926, p. 4.

The opportunity to test the reorganized Saskatchewan Progressive party arose in the federal election of September, 1926. The result of the election was disastrous for the Progressives: only four were returned to the House of Commons, two less than in 1925. It was obvious that the organization of the Progressive movement into the traditional political party structure had failed to revive the Progressive enthusiasm of 1921.

After the initial disappointment, the defeat of 1926 seemed to stimulate a demand that the party revert to its original principles. "To the Progressive movement," wrote a reader of The Western Producer, "I would like to reaffirm my belief in the ideal, and I believe that it will Phoenix-like . . . rise again from the ashes of defeat."¹ This was not a lonely voice "crying in the wilderness"; more and more voices chimed in until a convention was called to reaffirm the fundamental and original doctrines of Progressivism, especially the ideal of group government.

Gardiner considered the issue of group government serious enough to make a speech attacking the concept at the Regina Liberal Association banquet on January 31, 1927.² His speech prompted the following from C. E. Little, President of the Progressive Association, in a letter to N. H.

¹Ibid., Sept. 23, 1926, p. 10.

²C. A. R., 1926-27, p. 448.

McTaggart, former Progressive M. P. for Maple Creek:

You will note that Premier Gardiner in his recent address realizes that the next Provincial election will be fought on the issue of Group Government vs. The Party System and has thrown down the challenge to us. His address shows his uneasiness of the possibilities, if our Convention next July, is as successful as we hope it to be.

He went on to report that the movement was growing steadily "in favour and strength and we are gradually becoming recognized as the exponents of the Group or Co-operative system of Government."¹

This was the prevalent attitude right up to the Convention of July, 1927. On June 30th, the committee in charge of planning the Convention announced that it was "a great endeavour to unify the aims and ideals of the people," and that there were many problems to be placed before the gathering. "The question of placing the organization on an economic group basis, similar to Alberta, will be discussed." The inclusion of Henry Wise Wood, William Irvine, W. R. Fansher, and John Evans on the list of guest speakers for the Convention made it obvious that group or occupational² government certainly would be emphasized.

Progressive expectation were so great that they made arrangements for the accommodation of five thousand delegates at the stadium in Regina. The occasion, however,

¹Neil Haman McTaggart Papers, XI, n.p.

²The Western Producer, June 30, 1927, p. 2.

proved a dismal failure. Rather than five thousand, there were sixty-five delegates at the first session, and two hundred and fifty at the largest gathering. The City Hall was used instead of the Stadium.¹ We were "unfortunate in this respect," reminisced Mr. Coldwell, "that we hit a spell of very wet weather in July . . . and people that tried to come by cars . . . simply couldn't reach the city -- there were cars with broken axles between here, for example, and Moose Jaw, between Regina and Moose Jaw . . . the attempt² was a failure."

The Progressives had endeavoured to cope with the crisis of defeat in 1925 by organizing the movement along party lines and in 1926 by reverting to the doctrinaire aspect of the movement; both had failed to revive the old Progressive spirit of 1921. The nadir of the Progressive party's disappointment, it seems, was reached in the abortive Convention of July, 1927. An exultant Gardiner was quick to point to what he believed to be the moral. Rather unwisely, and somewhat cheaply, he linked the Progressives with the Klan by reference to similar organizing techniques as utilizing paid organizers from the United States, a reference to the Non-Partisan League of the Progressive past. The convention failure "has demonstrated something to the people

¹Ibid., July 21, 1927, p. 1.

²Transcript of Interview with M. J. Coldwell, June 12, 1963, p. 16.

of the province of Saskatchewan . . . it has demonstrated this fact that the day of the get-rich-easy politician is past in the province of Saskatchewan."¹

This association of the Progressives with the Klan by innuendo must be taken for what it was, but there was, nevertheless, in the background a curious association of Progressives and the Klan in the making. In the summer of 1927, when indications were that the Progressive party was finished, the Ku Klux Klan was beginning to foster conditions which inadvertently served to lend the party a new lease on life by acting as a catalyst in developing Progressive-Conservative collaboration. As the author of an "Open Letter To Premier Gardiner" observed:

Sir, you have devoted a lot of time to the Tory party and the Klan But your speeches contain very little about the Progressive party. I know you think you killed it when you ridiculed the Regina Convention. I am afraid it did not stay dead, and I am told that since then there has been an infusion of new blood by means of the Klan whose vote you said you did not want; other parties may not despise them. 2

Traditionally, the Progressives had tended to lean towards the Liberal party, but when J. G. Gardiner became Premier of Saskatchewan on February 26, 1926, the Progressives were completely alienated -- an important factor in making the party more open to other associations. Gardiner,

¹The Western Producer, July 21, 1927, p. 1; also The Regina Leader, Jan. 31, 1928.

²The Western Producer, July 5, 1928.

of course, disliked the "disastrous three-cornered conflicts" which made Liberal success less certain, and would have gladly seen the end of the Progressive movement. Even before he became Premier, it was well-known in Liberal circles that "Gardiner was persona non grata to the Progressives" in Saskatchewan. When Senator Andrew Haydon, the national organizer for the Liberal Party, received a wire from King's secretary telling him to find out if Gardiner would take charge of the campaign on the prairies, he "was aghast at the suggestion, and thought it unsafe to acquaint Gardiner with the message."¹ T. A. Crerar remarked, probably typically of the Progressive Party, that "He more than any other man has secured, and in a large measure earned, the hostility of the Progressives." And J. W. Dafoe agreed,² remarking that Gardiner was "a political anachronism." Whatever chance the Progressives had of co-operating with the Liberals ran out, when J. G. Gardiner became the leader of the Liberal Party.

Gardiner did not help the situation in 1928 by lumping the Ku Klux Klan with the Progressives as examples of "Americans over here to filch money from the pockets of the deluded and easy ones."³ However, it was one thing to

¹Unger, p. 21.

²Ibid., pp. 27, 31.

³Rosetown Eagle, June 21, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13711.

point out the folly in joining organizations promoted by foreigners; it was quite another to imply and to state that those who joined were easy marks, "deluded and easy" marks, for those occupied in "filching" money. Such tactics inevitably resulted in the alienation of a portion of the electorate, and tended to consolidate rather than divide the opposition. The election of 1929 was to reveal the truth of this. Crerar commented after the election:

It is probably a fact that 75% of the Progressive vote in Saskatchewan in 1921 was of Liberal antecedent. Gardiner's tactics in his efforts to annihilate them lost thousands of these people who are nominally Liberals and are sore and angry. ¹

American antecedents of the Progressives and the Klan was of no consequence to large numbers of Saskatchewan residents. As many Klan sympathizers were quick to point out when Gardiner attacked it as "foreign," and as P. F. Sharp affirms in his book on agrarian radicalism, every major farmers' movement organized in the United States before the First World War moved into Canada in some form, and among them were secret orders, e.g., the Grange. ² Furthermore, it was the great American immigration before 1911 "by which the influence of progressivism entered the West." ³

¹Unger, p. 128.

²P. F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948), p. 33.

³W. L. Morton, "Direct Legislation And The Origins Of The Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, September, 1944. p. 281. Hereafter cited "Direct Legislation."

How this might relate to the Klan movement can be readily seen when the American immigrants are grouped according to racial origin. Of the 87,617 United States immigrants residing in Saskatchewan, in 1921, 56,857 were British and Scandinavian, 2,720 Dutch, and 16,244 German. Thus, the predominantly Protestant immigrants totalled 75,821.¹ These statistics are significant in that the Klan directed its appeal to, and derived most of its support from among Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Protestants.² This observation is reinforced by the fact that local Klans sprang up in the towns and Villages along the railway routes used by United States immigrants. For example, on the C. P. R. line running across southern Saskatchewan from Weyburn to Shaunavon there were sixteen Klaverns, the most concentrated area of Klan organization in Saskatchewan.³

Progressives, like Conservatives, however, were sensitive to the association the Premier was trying to establish. One such attack in the legislature prompted a Progressive member, Mr. Whatley, to ask, "Are we to understand that the premier is trying to connect the Ku Klux Klan with the Progressive Party?" Gardiner answered, "Just

¹Sarah Common, "Canadian Pioneer Problems Study: The Flow of Population Across The Canadian-United States Border" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1931), p. 222.

²Kyba, p. 23.

³G.P., p. 12411-12510; Common, p. 75.

give me a little time. You will be quite illuminated by the time I get through."¹ Gardiner's accusation, of course, involved more than similarity of organizing techniques. It rather stressed the more important charge that Progressives and Conservatives were making political "hay" out of emotional issues raised and fostered by the Klan.

At first glance, it appears highly unlikely that "progressives" would be attracted to the Klan's sales pitch; but then "prohibition" does not seem an appropriate embellishment for Progressive platforms either. There were strains in the doctrines of the Klan that struck responsive chords in the Progressive mentality -- strains that appealed more strongly to their religious, racial, and anti-party prejudices than did the doctrinaire aspect of the Progressive movement.

One theme Klan speakers continually harped upon was its non-partisan and non-political character.

It was being said, remarked the chief Klan organizer in 1928, that the Klan was fighting the Liberal party. This was true insofar as the party in power was concerned, but only because the Klan believed that the party in power had departed from Liberal principles. The Klan was not Liberal, Conservative or Progressive. It was Canadian. It was not fighting true Liberalism

. . . . 2

To another audience, the same organizer, Dr. Hawkins, had

¹The Regina Leader, January 31, 1928.

²Kerrobert Citizen, June 20, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13699.

this to say:

The Klan is not political. It does not tell a man how to vote. It does urge all to exercise the franchise, however, and to vote for the man not the party, always providing . . . he is the best man. 1

That this theme of Klan propaganda was fastened onto by listeners, was attested to by letters to local newspapers. As one woman wrote to The Western Producer in terms rather more reminiscent of traditional western Non-Partisanism:

The Ku Klux Klan is similar, I believe to other organizations which have sprung up when people have lost confidence in constituted authority; when they feel that justice too often miscarries -- that politics and patronage figure too largely in our courts; that the welfare of the state is made subservient to the interests of the party, permitting privileges to influential minorities -- privileges detrimental to the best interests of society as a whole. 2

On the other pet themes of the Klan lecturers -- immigration, education, and the influence of the Quebec hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church -- the Progressives were in complete agreement. This is best illustrated by the Progressive platform of 1929. In his study of the election in that year, Mr. Kyba states that the Progressive platform emphasized many of the same issues as the Conservatives, but "to a less emotional degree." When the same planks in each platform are compared, however, the opposite seems true: the wording of the Progressive planks were more

¹Yorkton Enterprise, June 5, 1928, G.P., p. 13663.

²February 23, 1928.

emotionally tinged than the Conservative. The Conservative plank on immigration, for example, was "Aggressive immigration policy based on the selective principle"; while the Progressive counterpart was "An Immigration policy which will insure the permanency of British Institutions and Ideals." On the education issue, the Conservatives requested a "Thorough revision of the educational system of the province;" the Progressives desired the "Freedom of our public schools from sectarian influence, with increased emphasis on moral training."¹

The Progressives also shared the Klan's suspicions of Quebec. Sidney Bingham, a Saskatchewan Progressive M. L. A., once said, and it was probably typical of most Progressives, that "Saskatchewan, the most forward-looking province in Canada, is linked up politically with that most cautious, solid, subtle, and conservative province of Quebec."² John Evans, another Progressive M. P., in an angry denunciation of a speech by Premier Gardiner, stated that

The act of piracy committed by Ontario and Quebec Liberals and Conservatives in 1905 in usurping the Natural Resources of Saskatchewan and Alberta was characterized by the Honourable Lucien Cameron as "True Canadianism." Our own Premier of Saskatchewan said that our statesmen were "inspired" by motives to do these things, believing them to be in the best interest of Canada. By such a statement he confesses

¹Kyba, p. 35, and Appendix B, for a comparison of platforms.

²The Western Producer, Nov. 19, 1925, p. 4.

he is satisfied with the terms of autonomy given this province and that at the Conference next October Saskatchewan is again to be sold by its politicians and placed in the humiliating position of having its natural resources owned by others who are also to dictate in the administration of its internal affairs. ¹

Evans made his views much clearer in a letter to the Orange Sentinel on December 13, 1928. He charged that the federal and Saskatchewan Liberal governments were dominated by "the Romish Church" since Laurier's time and that the Roman Catholic influence that worked in 1905 was responsible for the inadequate treatment of the Reformation in school curriculums in Saskatchewan.

If Progressives, like Conservatives, found elements of "Klancraft" appealing, then Klan propaganda did much to bring these opposition parties together. Progressive-Conservative collaboration began officially at the time of the Conservative Convention at Saskatoon in March, 1928. Before the Convention closed, it received the following cable from Dr. Tran, the Progressive leader in the legislature: "Heartily concur in the spirit of your deliberation. Gladly accept any democratic principle re co-operation."² Behind this cable lay secret negotiations conducted on March 4th between Dr. Anderson, J. F. Bryant, and Howard McConnell and Progressive members of the Saskatchewan Legislature and

¹Ibid., July 28, 1927, p. 10.

²Kyba, p. 35.

the Provincial Progressive Committee. The negotiations were planned "with a view to arriving at some compromise" by which they could conduct the next election. The following compromise was reached at the meeting: the Conservatives

would run a Conservative candidate in certain constituencies (about fifty per cent) and have the Progressives run a candidate in each of the other constituencies where the Progressives were the strongest. If in any constituency neither the Progressives nor Conservatives would accept any suggestions from the Central Committee, then an open convention would be called of all opposing the Government and the strongest man get the nomination. ¹

A resolution embodying this compromise was to be brought before the Conservative Convention. If the motion passed, then Progressive members of the Legislature were to be contacted by telegram to determine whether they would support a co-operative government if the Liberals were defeated. Replies were to be read to the Convention. ² The Liberals were shocked that the "liberal" Progressives would even think of an alliance with the "reactionary" Conservatives, "but the lure of defeating the party which saw no merit in the co-operative principle, in politics at least, proved strong enough to overcome many Progressive objections to co-operation with the Conservatives." ³

¹Letter to R. B. Bennett from J. F. Bryant, March 5, 1928. Bennett Papers, p. 24916.

²Ibid.

³Kyba, p. 35.

The Klan, by emphasizing racial, religious, and moralistic issues, had appealed to large sections of the electorate and had polarized Saskatchewan politics, at least temporarily, along new lines. It had undermined the Liberal coalition, and had provided a basis for Conservative-Progressive co-operation. Conservatives especially found the Klan attractive, and it was with that party that the Klan had its closest direct association. However, the frustrating experience of the Progressives in Saskatchewan made them susceptible to suggestions that gave hope of removing Liberalism, and especially J. G. Gardiner, from power. Adding to its arsenal a general outrage over the defeat of prohibition, the Klan further drew from the Liberal party members committed to that reform and associated them electorally with Conservatives and Progressives in an alliance that at bottom rested on an accumulation of bitterness. Whether the Liberal government could withstand the tide, was doubtful indeed.

CHAPTER IX

THE KLAN AND THE 1929 GENERAL ELECTION

The political campaign preceding the Saskatchewan General Election of June 6, 1929 began with the Arm River by-election of October, 1928. In issues, campaign tactics and attitudes, the by-election proved to be a preview of the provincial election held nine months later. In that by-election, Gardiner openly attacked the Klan and the Opposition parties, claiming they were engaged in a secret alliance. For this Gardiner was criticized -- even by prominent Liberals:

A religious fight is not to be battled with out in the open, but quietly through some single personal talks His going out publicly has aroused the Protestant sentiment in the province, which is exceedingly strong, as you know. The Catholic minority is a comparatively small one and how far the thing may go is hard to say. ¹

And as June 6th, election day, drew near, it became even harder to say how Gardiner and the Liberal party would fare when Saskatchewan voters finally cast their ballots.

The main issues of the election were the question of sectarianism in the public schools, the failure of the Liberal Government to enforce strictly the provision of the School

¹A. Haydon to King, Dec. 7, 1928, King Papers, pp. 130058-130059.

"WHEN THE WIND BLOWS THE CRADLE WILL DROP!"



"YES! BUT WHERE?"

* Cartoon from Wadena Herald, April 11, 1928.

Act restricting the teaching of a language other than English to Grade one or the first year of a student's attendance, the problem of immigration, provincial control of natural resources, and political corruption.¹ These issues were not new to Saskatchewan politics, and it was no preference of the Liberal government that thrust them to the centre of the campaign. The Liberal approach to the issues was to appeal to the reason of the electorate by quoting statistics to show that there were relatively few schools in the province involved in the sectarian controversy, that the School Act was being enforced, and that the Anglo-Saxon segment of the population was far from being submerged in an alien flood. The political corruption charge was forthrightly denied, and an honourable settlement promised in the matter of the natural resources. The Liberal campaign, therefore, was defensive and mainly formulated as a reaction to the charges of the Opposition parties. Liberal speeches were well-laced with references to the party's record in office -- a record not unimpressive in legislation: a power bill, a new Workmen's Compensation Act, support for Teachers' pensions, public health legislation, a continuing road construction program² -- to offset Opposition charges. But, "unfortunately for the Liberals, their answers rarely

¹Ibid., pp. 45, 53; Unger, pp. 110, 116.

²Unger, p. 117.

kept pace with the Conservative charges."¹

The Conservatives made the most of the emotional aspects of the political issues. On the school question, they emphatically called for a completely non-sectarian public school system, but were careful not to deny to religious minorities the right of separate schools.² The Conservatives asserted that every child should have the right to attend a non-sectarian public school, and such a school should be available in any district. On immigration, they stood for an "aggressive . . . policy based on the selective principle."³ On the other issues, they called for an immediate return to the province of control over its natural resources, the institution of a politically non-partisan civil service, strict provincial law enforcement, the promotion of a campaign of temperance education through public school textbooks, preference for Canadian and British made goods, and the co-operation of political "groups" and individuals opposed to the present administration.⁴

The Progressive platform covered the same points, and with similar emphasis, as the Conservative. On education, the Progressives promised "freedom of our public schools

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 115.

³Kyba, Appendix B.

⁴Ibid.

from sectarian influence" and "complete educational opportunities for each Saskatchewan boy and girl."¹ With regard to immigration, they promised a "policy which will insure the permanency of British Institutions and Ideals." Other planks in the Progressive platform were: government operation and ownership of the manufacture of liquor "so long as the sale of liquor is approved by the people," the prohibition of all liquor advertisements within the province; and more generally, the old progressive slogan, "Equal Rights for All, Special Privileges to None."²

The similarity in platforms was not the only indication of Conservative-Progressive collaboration. In some constituencies Progressives supported the Conservative candidate, in others the order was reversed, and in still others a joint convention was held with an Independent candidate being named. In a few seats the two parties ran their own candidates. "Three-cornered fights were nevertheless restricted to a mere twelve of sixty-three, and saw-offs undoubtedly had an effect on the outcome of the election."³

The whole story of the 1929 election, however, was not by any means summed up in the platforms and campaigning of the opposition parties. Most of the issues had been

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 92.

about the Saskatchewan political scene for some time, and Liberal governments had in the past dealt handily with them. Arm River had proved their new potency, however, and it was the Klan that made the difference. Entering the province in late 1926, it had initially struck out vaguely across a broad spectrum of prejudice, but in the course of 1927 and 1928 had discovered the sensitive issues of Saskatchewan society. Where responsible politicians tried to blunt the edge of religious and cultural antagonisms, the Klan with an insidious monomania interpreted all public issues in terms of a Roman conspiracy. In the course of 1928, it had found the villains in the Saskatchewan case, James G. Gardiner's Liberal government and liberal churchmen. Throughout 1928 there had been evidence of growing synchronization of Klan and opposition party propaganda and campaigning, a process which reached a climax in the 1929 election. Unrestrained by the responsibilities of a political party, it could vent its furious invective without regard for the task of political reconstruction which would follow the election. Hence, while concentrating on the same issues, its treatment of the issues was almost qualitatively different than that of the opposition parties.

"The speaker said he was a Liberal, but he maintained that there had been no Liberalism in Saskatchewan in the last three years," read a report of one Klansman's speech, "it was controlled by one power that was ruling

Mexico, Spain, Portugal, and other countries."¹ No organizer stressed this point as much as Maloney:

The Jesuits were an order commonly called the Jesuit spies. They were often allowed to speak in Protestant pulpits and in general worked in an insidious way to undermine Protestantism. Their moves were subtle and Protestant ministers and politicians were often used as tools to further their ends. The greatest part of the Jesuit machine was now in Saskatchewan He predicted that unless the political pandering to Rome ceased, Canada would be under her control in 20 years.²

On the question of the Government's educational policy, the Klan spokesmen not only attacked sectarianism in the public schools but the very principle of separate schools. "We stand . . . for one non-sectarian school," stated Snelgrove in Saskatoon on March 9, 1929, "big and broad enough for all and attended by all, with one curriculum for every school from Grade 1 to grade 8, the English language to be taught in all those grades and the abolition of all secular robes and religious instruments Every democratic country had settled its school question by having one school."³ Other organizers carried the same message: Rev. Bunting, with regard to the school situation at Gravelbourg, stated that "such conditions should not be tolerated, but if we did nothing to oppose the influence of Rome then we must accept the indictment of the Catholic church that all, including

¹Snelgrove at Saskatoon, Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, March 9, 1929, p. 3.

²Kerrobert Citizen, May 16, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13598.

³Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, March 9, 1929, p. 3.

Protestants, were subjected to its rule";¹ Charles Puckering reportedly said that "he saw no need why there should be 33 separate schools in the province, why nuns should teach and hand their pay checks over to their church, and why in some cases Protestant children should have to worship the crucifix as punishment, and why objectionable matter should be allowed in the textbooks";² and Dr. Hawkins put it succinctly when he declared that "the Klan was not fighting against the public schools, but against the introduction into some of them of Romish ideas and practices."³

The language issue, although not as crucial, was another aspect of the public school question touched on by the Klan. The Government was accused of showing favoritism to the French Roman Catholics by not enforcing the English language provisions of the School Act. Imperial Wizard

¹Kerrobert Citizen, March 28, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13486.

²Ibid., April 25, 1928, p. 13526. The reference to objectionable matter in textbooks was a much discussed aspect of the school issue, referring to a story in a French reader used in the separate Schools. Rev. Dr. W. S. Reid, Third Ave. United Church, Saskatoon referred to it in a sermon: "It told the story of a Protestant child being taken into a Catholic church for the first time. Seeing the light burning before the altar the child asked her father what the lamp was for. She was told that it marked the presence of Jesus. Later, when in a Protestant church, she asked why there was no lamp and was told it was because 'Jesus is not here.' She replied that she wanted to go where Jesus was and the family became converted, presumably to the Catholic faith." Saskatoon Daily Star, March 26, 1928.

³Yorkton Enterprise, June 5, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13663.

Rosborough discussed the issue in a speech at Indian Head in March, 1929, and pointed to the recent attempts at bilingualism in the Postmaster General's Department to show "how the French language is swiftly being injected into Canadian life." The report of his speech continued:

His discussion did not go far without directly challenging the position of the Premier of Saskatchewan relative to the school situation in this province, pointing out that, at the last session, the speaker had shown the Premier wrong in his statements of this position, declaring that there are many schools where not a word of English is spoken. ¹

He made the Klan's position explicit a month later by declaring that "the Klan is opposed to the teaching of the French language and opposed to separate schools and for these and other reasons, is opposed to the present Provincial Government." ²

With regard to immigration, the Liberal Government was charged with allowing the province to be flooded with immigrants, more importantly, with Roman Catholic immigrants. It can be said without exaggeration that all the Klan organizers emphasized this issue in their speeches throughout the province. Hawkins, Maloney, Puckering, and Snelgrove spoke eloquently and at length on the subject; there were lesser lights who spoke at equal length:

¹Indian Head News, March 21, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13957.

²Imperial Review, April 25, 1929, clipping, G.P., p. 13964.

Mr. Bunting referred to various alleged interferences by Rome in the policies of the country and charged that every pressure was being brought to bear on officials to bring in Catholic central Europeans and that efforts to bring in Protestants were being opposed. Rome was not concerned with making good Canadian citizens of the new arrivals, but with making Canada Catholic, which was her open boast. 1

D. C. Grant, another organizer, charged that

The government is taking our money to stage a repatriation scheme. They are using the money to bring French-Canadians, the most disloyal and unpatriotic people in the Dominion, back from the United States, and are giving them free farms in the west, and at Quebec City, priests, employed by the government as immigration authorities, are daily rejecting men who seek admittance to this country for the simple reason that they are not Catholics. 2

And J. A. Balfour, speaking at Climax in August, 1928, stated that "it was easier for a central European to enter Canada, than British subjects." 3

The Klansmen did not forget the question of the provincial control of natural resources -- an issue which had become linked with the school question in 1926 when Alberta refused to accept the Federal Government's terms owing to an accompanying condition aimed at safeguarding the separate schools of Alberta. The Klan was quick to seize upon this

¹Kerrobert Citizen, March 28, 1928, loc. cit.

²Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 23, 1928. A. J. Balfour, Secretary of Regina Klan No. 1, protested to Premier Gardiner on Jan. 18, 1929, regarding "press reports in circulation" that "250,000 French may be brought to this province under special rates from the railroads of this country." G.P., p. 12386.

³Weekly Climax, Aug. 2, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13853.

development: "It is understood that the question of the natural resources of Saskatchewan will play a prominent part in the provincial election," remarked Dr. Hawkins in one of his speeches, "and I am told that the Liberals in Saskatchewan will accept the autonomy terms that Alberta has refused."¹ Other speakers also touched on this issue: Maloney declared at Moose Jaw that "the people of Saskatchewan had been 'kidded' in regard to the natural resources and the tariff. 'You get your miserable subsidy and they smile'";² and at a well-attended rally at Melfort, addressed by Dr. Hawkins and R. C. Snelgrove, "both speakers flayed the Liberal party and the Gardiner administration in particular unmercifully for alleged grievances in connection with the school system . . . and also in connection with the restoration of the natural resources."³

Finally, the Klan campaign included the charge of political corruption against the Liberals. In this regard, the most serious charge was probably the claim that there existed a bond between the Liberal government and the Bronfman liquor interests, who were thought to be using their liquor export warehouses in Saskatchewan for bootlegging and

¹Regina Daily Star, July 18, 1928.

²Moose Jaw Evening Times, May 30, 1928.

³Melfort Moon, May 31, 1928, clipping, G.P., p.

smuggling purposes.¹ In making such a charge, the Klan was identifying itself with the thousands of Saskatchewan residents still smarting over the defeat of Prohibition. The Yorkton Klan, for instance, displayed its concern by asking what city council was doing about the sale of liquor "in a place other than the Government Liquor store."² And Hawkins testified to the Klan's effectiveness in attacking 'liquor' and allied vices: "I heard a taxi driver say in Moose Jaw that every Klansman . . . ought to be hung . . . they've run us out of our business; why there's no place to take men now to find whiskey, or to find girls."³ The transition from emphasizing bootlegging as a moral issue to a political one at election time was easily made by the Klan spokesmen. "Arm River . . . was a moral victory for the Conservatives against bootleg control, ecclesiastical domination and an illusive school law," exclaimed an exultant Maloney.⁴

The Klan, then, served not only to prepare the Saskatchewan electorate by fostering controversy over race and religion before the election campaign, but increased and concentrated its activities on defeating the Liberal Govern-

¹See Unger, pp. 86-89, for discussion of charges of political corruption.

²Yorkton Enterprise, March 13, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13473.

³Regina Standard, March 1, 1928. This contains a verbatim report of Dr. Hawkins' speech in the city hall on Feb. 16.

⁴Yorkton Enterprise, Dec. 11, 1928, clipping, G.P., p. 13928.

ment during it. The efforts of the hooded order were not in vain. According to a Conservative at Rosetown, W. M. Aseltine, the Klan campaign was effective even among many traditional Liberals who intended to withdraw their support from both federal and provincial Liberal parties. This change had been brought about, he thought, "largely through the efforts of speakers sent out by the Ku Klux Klan and you hear the religious question discussed very freely on trains and in public places everywhere."¹

The Klan campaign also had a telling effect among the immigrant Protestant community. The President of the local Conservative Association at Melville, J. A. Jackson, wrote to F. R. MacMillan, President of the Saskatchewan Conservative Association, asking if something could be done to reach the German protestant residents of his town and district. In the past they had voted Liberal because the German language papers have been Liberal and pro-Catholic, he claimed, although the German protestants were not aware of it nor of the political corruption of the Gardiner machine. He continued:

Mr. Maloney has been here on either two or three occasions and spoke to large meetings of German citizens. They heard something new and were impressed, and many of them who understand English fairly well are beginning to doubt the honesty and integrity of the Liberal Government. As I have said, They are

¹Aseltine to Bennett, Bennett Papers, Vol. 71, p. 46776.

¹
anti-catholic.

Jackson had hit on an aspect of the campaign in which the Klan rendered invaluable service to the Opposition parties. Not only did the organization preach their platforms, but it made outrageous charges to the effect that the Liberal Government was being dominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Regina -- charges which the Opposition did not dare to utter. What the Klan had accomplished, in brief, was to tie together the issues of sectarianism, immigration, and natural resources with the single, simple argument of Catholic conspiracy on the one hand and the compliance of the Gardiner government on the other. The result was not so much the injection of a new issue into the campaign as the addition of a new dimension of emotional intensity to issues already present in Progressive and Conservative campaigning. The election campaign became an imbroglio of religious controversy, creating the distinct danger of a coincidence of political and religious convictions.

When the Saskatchewan electorate went to the polls on June 6, 1929, it was in the context of a campaign affecting more the voter's emotions than his reason. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Saskatchewan electorate deviated from its tradition of voting on grounds of practical economics² and defeated the Liberal Government of James G. Gardiner.

¹Bennett Papers, Vol. 42, p. 25207.

²Kyba, p. 14.

The Liberal reign of twenty-four years had come to an end. It was not an ignominious defeat: Liberals remained the largest party with 26 seats, but Conservatives with 24 and Progressives and Independents with 11 held a substantial majority between them. The Progressives at least held their ground, and perhaps even gained by electing Independents in co-operation with the Conservatives. The Opposition victory came as a shock to many Liberals. "It is astounding that so many persons should be led away," exclaimed one Liberal, "by the transparent course of untruthful vilification and absolute lies to which the Conservatives descended, and of which the so-called Independents and Progressives eagerly took advantage."¹

Part of the Opposition victory was due to the electoral co-operation of Conservatives and Progressives. An analysis of the election returns reveals that the majority of the Progressive vote went to the Conservative candidate in constituencies where no Progressive candidate was running, and that in at least six three-cornered fights the Progressive vote decreased in comparison with the 1925 election, while the Conservative vote increased disproportionately to that of the Liberal. It is also significant that in sixteen constituencies that ran Progressive candidates in 1925 only Conservatives and Liberals ran in

¹C. Sutton to Gardiner, June 13, 1929, G.P., p. 10097.

1929, with the Conservatives winning most of the contests.¹ However, it was especially notable that those constituencies heavily populated with local Klans were won by the Conservatives, Progressives or Independents. The only notable exception was Willowbunch, where the Conservative vote increased dramatically, but not quite enough to unseat the Liberal candidate.²

A minor constitutional crisis arose out of the fact that the Liberals could only form a minority government.³ Gardiner, hoping to secure Progressive or Independent support in the Legislature, refused to resign despite Conservative protests that the Government had clearly been defeated by the combined opposition forces. His hopes were not realized as the Progressives and Independents agreed to cast their lot with the Conservatives, but only under certain conditions: reform of the civil service, retention of their own identity, and freedom in the matter of federal politics. Identical resolutions were submitted by the Conservatives and Progressives demanding the resignation of the Gardiner Ministry but the Premier remained adamant, preferring to retain power until defeated on the floor of the house.⁴

On September 6, 1929, the Liberal ministry went

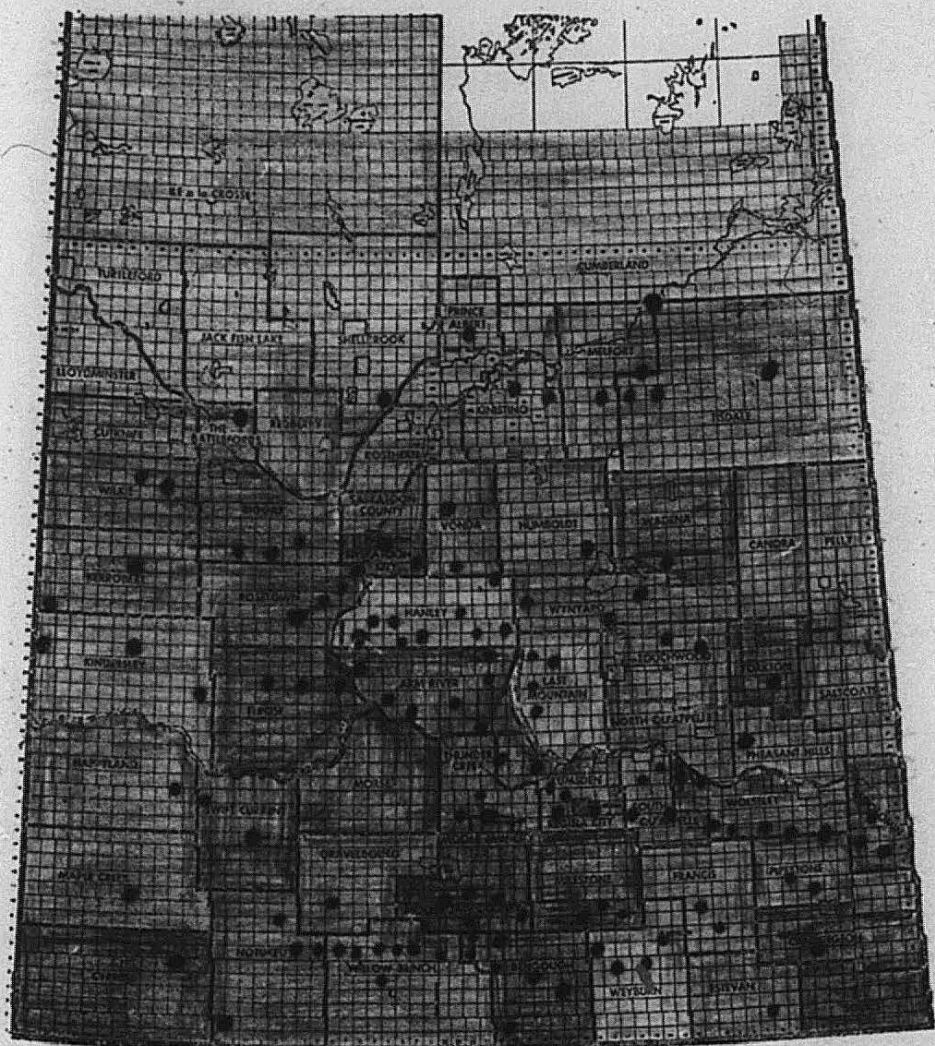
¹Directory of Saskatchewan, pp. 74-123.

²See chart on next page.

³See Unger, p. 133, for more detailed treatment of constitutional issue.

⁴Kyba, p. 77.

RESULTS OF THE 1929 SASKATCHEWAN GENERAL ELECTION
BY CONSTITUENCY ¹



ELECTORAL DIVISIONS, 1920
(Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Legislatures)

63 Members

-  Liberal
-  Conservative
-  Independent
-  Progressive
-  Local Klans

One-Hundred and Twenty Nine

¹See Appendix VI for geographical distribution of Klan.

down to defeat in the Legislature. Premier Gardiner resigned and Dr. Anderson took over the reins of power. Of the Progressives and Independents, A. C. Stewart, of Yorkton, and R. Stipe, of Hanley, entered the Cabinet. The Progressive-Conservative alliance was finally cemented -- or as Premier Anderson termed it, a "Co-operative Government" -- and it held together until the election of 1934.

The 1929 election was the final test of strength between the Klan and Premier Gardiner. For Gardiner and the Liberal party, the defeat was a stunning blow. Although he admitted that it would have been preferable to have someone other than a party leader to lead the attack on the order, he did not concede that it was the denunciation of the Klan which was primarily responsible for the defeat. On the contrary, he believed the party would have suffered defeat more decisively had he not brought the Invisible Empire to light.¹ Those who disagreed with Gardiner pointed to examples in the United States where Klan membership had increased when the order was publicly exposed. However, the validity of this parallel is dubious because of the political situation peculiar to Saskatchewan in the late 1920's, and Gardiner might well have taken the right course in publicly condemning the order. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the Premier of the province

¹Unger, pp. 118-119.

thought the Klan to be of such strength as to pose a threat to the welfare of Saskatchewan residents and warranted his public condemnation, and that if he had not done so, the Liberal party would have experienced a worse defeat.

For the Opposition parties, the presence of the Klan in Saskatchewan prior to and during the election was more than they could have asked. Here was an organization with over one hundred local cells, thousands of members, an adequate supply of eloquent speakers and capable leaders, that proclaimed to the four corners of Saskatchewan the main planks of their platforms, and that could spread accusations against the Government without fear of being held responsible. Was it any wonder that Anderson and the Conservatives refrained from condemning the Ku Klux Klan? The fact that the Conservatives had been out of office for twenty-four years made the prospect of covert co-operation with the Klan all the more alluring. The Klan offered the Opposition a ray of hope in the 1929 election, and it made the most of it politically --whether it did as well ethically, is another question.

The Klan, of course, saw nothing but vindication of its three years of campaigning. At least one community witnessed a victory celebration in typical Klan style:

At 10 o'clock last night when the results of the political landslide became fairly well assured a great cross was burned on open ground a short distance north of the Roman Catholic church in Broderick, and kept

burning until about midnight. About 100 spectators gathered around the cross. ¹

"Like a people emancipated from slavery," exulted Dr.

Cowan in a telegram to R. B. Bennett, "Regina to-night is engaged in the wildest celebration you ever saw." ²

¹Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 7, 1929, p. 3.

²June 6, 1929, Bennett Papers, p. 25316.

CHAPTER X

DECLINE AND CONCLUSION

Although the peak of the Ku Klux Klan's success in Saskatchewan was reached in the defeat of the Liberal Government in 1929, it had been suffering from an inherent weakness from its inception. In large part its appeal rested on negative and defensive feelings which, though strongly rooted in Saskatchewan life, could not long sustain a major movement.¹ That the order remained vibrant as long as it did, could be attributed to a medley of reasons: the fortuitous publicity the organization received in the Emmons' trials, the Lemberg debate, the deportation of Dr. Hawkins, the Arm River by-election, the Saskatoon Klonsvocation of 1929, and the 1929 election campaign; the establishment of an independent Klan with capable leaders and organizers; and a political situation which was conducive to the Klan program. There were signs, however, of Klan decline in some quarters as early as January, 1929.

In that month, the proceedings of a closed meeting of the Saskatoon Klan probably reflected the deterioration

¹See also Chalmers, p. 295.

of the order in that locality. "Nobody wanted to take office," reported the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, "feeling ran high, language higher and the probability of disbanding the lodge was discussed" at an eventful annual meeting of the Knights of the Invisible Empire.¹ The gathering was confused and disorderly; the incumbent Exalted Cyclops resigned and threatened never to occupy the position again. A new leader was elected but when he was asked to take the chair the majority of Klansmen objected and demanded that someone else be appointed. When the Klan's role in the city was assessed, it was described as "useless." The main reason for this, it was thought, was the poor attendance at the monthly meetings. This discussion also "brought out the point that a short time ago a number of notices were mailed to members and were not sealed, a fact which had rather deterred and annoyed members."² Someone spoke up and mentioned that he knew of three "commercial travellers" who had received such notices and all of them had declared their intention of leaving the order. The meeting closed with an expression of regret that "some of the 'big' men in the city who were members did not take more interest in the lodge, and these will be asked to revive their slipping

¹Jan. 5, 1929, p. 3; see also Regina Daily Post, Jan. 5, 1929, and Moose Jaw Evening Times, Jan. 7, 1929.

²Ibid.

enthusiasm."¹

The "slipping enthusiasm," however, rather than reviving, became more widespread in Saskatoon in the few weeks before the election writs were issued. On February 13, 1929, The Prairie Messenger, published by the Benedictine Fathers at Muenster, Saskatchewan, directed an editorial against the Klan and accused it of bringing a "fake" ex-nun from the United States, claiming that "the chairman of the meeting at Regent Hall stated that the Klan brought the woman to Saskatoon and would protect her." The incident did little to halt the already sagging membership of the Saskatoon organization. This was evident in the attendance at R. C. Snelgrove's meeting about three weeks later, described in the Star-Phoenix as "sparsely attended."² With regard to this meeting, a friend of Premier Gardiner's informed him that only forty-five people were in attendance, adding that just previous to this Mr. Snelgrove made a deposit on "amusement tax charges" of \$19.70 with the City "in the hopes that some thousands would be at the meeting." He enclosed an advertisement of the meeting, which gave the subject of the lecture as "Is The Klan Dead?", and commented that "in view of the fact that only 45 were present, the

¹Ibid.

²Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, March 9, 1929, p. 3.

remainder must have been away attending the funeral!"¹

For Klan locals experiencing problems somewhat similar to those of the Saskatoon Klan, the 1929 election campaign served to boost the morale of the membership. Moose Jaw may have been an example of this. In December, 1927, three months after Emmons and the Scotts left, the Moose Jaw local was sufficiently strong to have five of its members among the nineteen aldermanic candidates in the civic elections, and to have three of them elected to the five aldermanic posts. In that municipal election 21,765 ballots were cast, 7,263 going to the five 'Klan' candidates. In 1928, however, only two and perhaps three, of the twelve aldermanic candidates were Klansmen, this time polling little more than one-quarter of the total vote and electing only one.² But in 1929, Moose Jaw elected a Mayor, and returned two Conservative candidates to the Legislature,³ whose names appear in the Klan membership lists.

¹L. J. Walshe to Premier Gardiner, March 9, 1929, G.P., p. 12396.

²The following names of aldermanic candidates appear in Klan files: E. E. Anderson, Thomas A. Craig, James W. Hawthorne, John Alexander Merkley, and Margaret Wilkinson, for 1927; Thomas A. Craig, John A. Thompson (there were three J. A. Thompsons in Moose Jaw, making identification uncertain), and Robert West, for 1928. Moose Jaw Evening Times, Dec. 13, 1927, p. 7; Dec. 11, 1928, p. 7; G.P., pp. 12451-12471.

³The names of three Moose Jaw Mayors appear on the lists: James Pascoe and J. W. Hawthorne, 1929-1934, and Robert West, 1949. See Moose Jaw Evening Times, Dec. 6, 1929, p. 4, and Moose Jaw Times-Herald, Dec. 9, 1948, p. 13;

If the 1929 election brought new life to flagging locals of the Klan, the success of the Opposition parties with its assistance created a basic problem for the Klan. Much of its publicity had arisen from its sensational attacks upon the Gardiner government. But after the 1929 election, Gardiner, the arch-conspirator, and his cohorts were defeated. Therefore, the parties responsible, according to the Klan, for all the injustice in the province, and the root of all grievances, were gone. Who or what would now be the Klan's "whipping-boy"? Once the political goal was realized, it seems, the order had little to offer the public at large and almost immediately began to decline.

Meeting in this somewhat anti-climatic atmosphere, the Klansmen gathered in Regina on January 9-10, 1930, for the organization's third annual convention. Significantly, the only report appearing in the newspapers was one given to the press by the Klan publicity committee, for the affair was held in secret. The report, of course, claimed it to be "the most successful of any yet held" by the order, attended by "delegates and visitors from all corners of Mani-

and G.P., pp. 12451-12471. Also in 1927, Moose Jaw elected a Mayor, W. F. Dunn, who was accused by his opponents of being a Klan candidate, Moose Jaw Evening Times, Dec. 6, 1929, p. 7. The two members returned for Moose Jaw City Constituency were John Alexander Merkley and Dr. R. H. Smith, Directory of Saskatchewan, p. 96, and Transcript of Emmons' trials, G.P., p. 12570.

toba and Saskatchewan."¹

The first day's session was devoted largely to the receiving of reports of the past year's activities and discussion of the Klan's work in general. Reports from the Imperial Wizard and Imperial Kligrapp revealed a "steady increase in membership and a more solid strength in the local Klans under their jurisdiction" for the year 1929. Following the business session a banquet was held, after which a guest speaker endeavored to arouse the old enthusiasm by elaborating upon the well-worn issues of the public school and immigration.²

On the second day, the delegates prepared and discussed plans for Klan projects and activities for the current year, heartily approved "the recent announcements of Premier Anderson that the School Act would be enforced to the letter and the decision of the Attorney General's Department that all religious instruction must be given in the English language during school hours," and condemned "the evident intention of Quebec forces, through the federal government, to force the French language on the people, in spite of repeated protests of the west." Before the convention terminated, resolutions were passed regarding the School Act and natural resources, recent attempts to implement bi-

¹Regina Leader, Jan. 18, 1930; also The Sentinel, Feb. 6, 1930, p. 17.

²Ibid.

lingualism in the Postmaster General's Department, immigration of central Europeans, and the national anthem.

This appears to have been the last annual convention of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan; other local meetings were held, but as a provincial organization it faded into oblivion in the next few years.¹ Its chief organizers, it seems, left for greener fields in other provinces, a good indication in itself regarding conditions in Saskatchewan. Snelgrove and Maloney moved west to Alberta, while Puckering, Grant and Wright headed east to Manitoba.² Their work in Saskatchewan, apparently, had been accomplished; other challenges had to be met in Alberta and Manitoba.

There were other reasons for the Klan's decline in

¹Reports of later Klan activity appeared in Moose Jaw Evening Times, March 6, 1930, p. 12; Le Patriote, Nov. 22, 1933, and June 6, 1934; Edmonton Journal, May 26, 1933.

²Maloney reappeared in Saskatchewan in May, 1938, in order to participate in the provincial election; in Jan. 1940, he was reported in the Melville constituency; and in late 1940 he was arrested in Kitchener, Ontario, on six charges of false pretences, but was released in March 1941, having been tried and given a suspended sentence. From this point on his whereabouts and activities are vague, although M. J. Coldwell recalled that Maloney "was picked up in British Columbia for obtaining money by false pretences, was jailed and I think died under arrest or . . . a few years later." See Maloney to MacKinnon, May 16, 1938, G.P., p. 55820; Gardiner to Stevenson, Jan. 12, 1940, G.P., p. 44538; Stevenson to Gardiner, Jan. 19, 1940, G.P., p. 44543; Edmonton Bulletin, March 25, 1941; and Transcript of Interview with M. J. Goldwell, June 19, 1963.

the 1930's. The major controversial issues such as the infringement of the School Act with regard to the teaching of languages and sectarian influence, immigration, and natural resources were all settled. A Conservative party was in power. But probably the most far reaching reason for the order's demise was the great depression of the decade. As early as October, 1929, newspaper headlines were heralding the imminent depression: "Wheat and Stock Markets are Demoralized," "Most Spectacular Crash in Prices in History of the Montreal, Toronto Markets"; and in February, 1930, "Wheat Prices Tumble Headlong At Winnipeg," "5597 Carloads Fodder Shipped Dry Areas, Saskatchewan."¹

The depression which struck Saskatchewan and the western world in 1929 completely upset the social and economic equilibrium of the province. Dependent on its one-crop wheat economy, Saskatchewan, as a result of the depression and the great drought, changed from one of the wealthiest areas on the continent, to one completely dependent on outside relief in order to maintain a minimum standard of existence Almost every farmer in the province was insolvent as the price received for wheat fell below the cost of production No other province in Canada and probably few other places on earth changed within a few years from such heights of wealth and prosperity to such depths of depression and poverty as did Saskatchewan.²

¹Moose Jaw Evening Times, Oct. 24, 26, 1929; Feb. 17, 21, 1930.

²S. M. Lipset, "The Rural Community And Political Leadership In Saskatchewan," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XIII, Feb. to Nov., 1947, pp. 412-413.

For conditions such as these, the Klan had no program. For people experiencing such difficulties, the conflicts of race and religion were luxuries they could ill afford. A political fundamentalism did find a role in prairie politics in the 1930's, but not in Saskatchewan, and not through the agency of the Klan -- although it was not insignificant that Maloney spent some time campaigning for Social Credit in Alberta.¹ The success of the Klan's immediate objectives and the onset of conditions for which it had no solutions to offer combined to bring the Klan to its end in Saskatchewan.

The province of Saskatchewan in 1927, had offered good prospects to the Kleagles of the Klan. Its social composition suited their purpose well: a large majority of British stock, a French minority campaigning for cultural rights, and enough "aliens," of whom the majority was ignorant and afraid, to permit the stirring up of prejudice. Politically, the time and place also was right as four political issues -- the language question, the sectarian issue, the immigration problem, and the control of the natural resources -- were currently before the public and each could be associated with a Roman Catholic plot, making ideal conditions for an anti-Catholic campaign. As a heavily agrarian society, Saskatchewan had its full measure of the tendency among rural folk to believe in "interests" con-

¹Edmonton Bulletin, March 25, 1941.

spiring against them and to crusade for social and moral conformity. Furthermore, economic prosperity prevented energies from being diverted to economic problems alone. Religiously, conditions could not have been better for Klan growth, with an overwhelming majority of people belonging to historic Protestant churches, the members of which were mainly theologically conservative and hence somewhat restive about the growing influence of liberal theology and the social gospel in their denominations.

Into this Saskatchewan context, then strode the Ku Klux Klan organizers, not with new approaches or new issues -- for the Klan merely capitalized on what the Orange Lodge had been saying for years -- but with a dramatically new politico-religious organization which was officially tied to neither religion nor politics and, therefore, could conduct a campaign to which responsible religious and political bodies would not stoop. The order was fortunate enough to recruit capable leaders and public speakers from among Saskatchewan citizens, and a sufficient number of influential members to give the organization a degree of respectability that was vital to its success. That the Klan's success lasted for some three years, whereas in other provinces it quickly fizzled out, is perhaps attributable to the political situation peculiar to Saskatchewan and the covert alliance the Klansmen were able to arrange with the Opposition parties.

That the Klan would thrive in "progressive" Saskatchewan seems, at first glance, somewhat paradoxical. What Laurier said to explain J. W. Dafoe's defection from the Liberal party in 1918 might be applied appropriately to the average Saskatchewan Protestant in the years 1927-1929 to account, as well as any single explanation can, for the impact of the Klan in Saskatchewan: "on many things he has the most advanced ideas of Liberalism and even Radicalism; on others his horizon is the horizon of the sixteenth century."¹

¹Cited in Ramsay Cook, The Politics of J. W. Dafoe and the Free Press (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 83.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SASKATCHEWAN KLAN LOCALS AND OFFICIALS¹

LOCATION	EXALTED CYCLOPS	KLIGRAPP
Regina	Rev. W. Surman	Jas. F. Cox
Moose Jaw	Dr. F. J. Ivay	John R. Cowan
Creelman	R. C. Williams	J. N. Webb
Milestone		Geo. Draayer
Osage		Chas. E. Thompson
Melville	R. Greig	J. T. Burrill
Weyburn	Geo. C. Sayles	H. F. Shaw
Yorkton	W. H. Cross	F. Steele
Watrous		M. D. Grant
Saskatoon	B. H. Johnston	Wm. J. Thompson
Prince Albert		Fred Andrews
Fort Qu'Appelle	Geo. K. Grass	R. F. Harrison
S. Qu'Appelle		Thos. Freer
Stoney Beach	N. R. Horning	Fred Skelton
Biggar	F. G. Squirrell	Geo. E. Hunt
N. Battleford	J. A. Shaw	A. Benning
Swift Current	J. J. Hall	J. McIntosh
Maple Creek	Dr. A. S. Simpson	M. Jensen
Shaunavon	Geo. A. Stevens	David Collier
Ponteix	J. W. Vandergroft	E. Cameron
Assiniboia	E. L. Patterson	J. White
Verwood	Alex McNeevin	R. G. Marshall
Cabri		R. O. Scanlon
Woodrow	Geo. Eisnor	A. S. Parrish
Kincaid	K. E. Cameran	Ray O. Nix
McCord	Chas Will	H. B. Taylor
Lafleche		Rev. J. McKnight
Limerick	A. B. Hill	W. A. McKenzie
Congress	H. M. Hutchison	Wm. Smith
Aneroid	J. N. W. Elkington	Geo. Foss
Meyronne	F. R. LaFontaine	Herbert Barber
Hazenmore	W. Campbell	G. E. Davis
Kipling	T. W. Clark	Geo. Skipper

¹G.P., pp. 12513-12516. This list is dated June 8, 1928.

Balcarres
 Abernethy
 Moosomin
 Whitewood
 Wolseley
 Indian Head
 Hanley
 Delisle
 Elrose
 Eston
 Dinsmore
 Dunblaine
 Abbey
 Unity
 Wilkie
 Tisdale
 Melfort
 Wilcox
 Conquest
 Outlook
 Milden
 Harris
 Semans
 Tessier
 Alsask
 Kindersley
 Rosetown
 Young
 Nokomis
 Lanigan
 Wynyard
 Colonsay
 Wadena
 Viscount
 Watson
 Aberdeen
 Star City
 Birch Hills
 Kinistino
 Earl Grey
 Rocanville
 Constance
 Davidson
 Craik
 Bethune
 Langbank
 Govan
 Strasbourg
 Blucher
 Kerrobert

W. C. Northgraves
 A. B. Colton
 L. B. Sherwood

Geo. Lee
 Frank J. Rodgers
 T. C. Caskey
 Tom Robson
 S. Henning
 H. M. Drake
 F. A. Foster
 W. H. Tough
 F. E. McDonald

W. T. Dunstan
 C. C. Caswell
 H. C. Drew
 Chas. M. Stevens
 Oscar Evoy
 R. G. Marshall
 J. Jones
 C. Simpson
 E. Smith
 C. A. Fleming
 Pete Cameron
 Duncan Buie
 C. C. McGuirr
 H. E. Smith
 A. L. Salter
 Abam Walker
 W. S. Spencer
 Wm. E. Jenkins
 F. M. Smith

Wm. Henry
 C. M. Lundquist
 W. J. Johnston

W. D. Reavie
 Alex McNevin
 W. H. Blair
 John Hewitson
 Geo. S. Read
 Ernest G. Evoy
 Alex Reid
 Chas. W. Bearse

A. John Sanders
 Percy A. Lines
 M. V. Gilpin

T. W. Tiller
 Harold A. Blair
 A. M. Murray
 F. P. Henwood
 John S. Bale
 D. C. Mortimer
 H. I. Clarke Jr.,
 T. R. H. Blaine
 N. C. Simpson

J. F. Patterson
 G. A. McConnell
 M. Dykes
 C. McCocklin
 A. A. Kennedy
 J. W. Secord
 J. L. Howey
 G. C. Walsh
 I. R. Hamilton
 K. A. Cassidy
 Geo. Gilbraith
 W. W. Cralle
 W. H. Goddard
 A. H. Herd
 E. W. Mitchell
 Leo. Melsted
 Frank Garrett
 R. J. Pratt
 J. W. George
 Chris. Olson
 N. McMillan
 Miss G. E. Neville
 H. T. Simpson
 C. I. Figeland

H. J. Mitchell
 D. Wallace
 H. D. Ketcheson
 J. J. Gerbrandt
 Roy McLennan
 Rev. W. C. Challes
 N. A. Stephenson
 Rev. A. J. Lewis

Loverna
 Perdue
 Asquith
 Imperial
 Wartime
 Bounty
 Elbow
 Foam Lake
 Sintaluta
 Grenfell
 Wapella
 Elfros
 Estevan
 Ogema
 Viceroy
 Mossbank
 Bengough
 McRorie
 Demaine
 Mortlach
 Findlater
 Broadview
 Wakaw
 Ridgedale
 Blaine Lake
 Nipawin

C. H. Stoneman

Robt. Templeman
 R. R. Cohoon
 J. M. Henderson

A. Dupreau

Wm. Burnett

Chas. W. McInnes
 Henry R. McLung
 C. C. Shattack
 John M. Reid

Ray Richards
 John A. McNabb

Dr. W. J. Magwood
 K. R. Ramsey

Victor F. Coulter

W. B. Kelly
 W. J. Cunisky
 T. A. McKay

Geo. Temple

H. J. McLise

E. A. Kilpatrick
 Robert J. Fenwick
 Geo. K. Ingles
 Rev. D. E. Freek

L. R. Miniely
 J. Cecil Poston

J. J. Lundquist

APPENDIX II

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND ANNUAL KLONVOKATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF 1 THE KU KLUX KLAN, SASKATOON, JANUARY 10-11, 1929.

WHEREAS Section 9 of the School Act reads, "There shall be an educational council appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, consisting of at least 5 persons, two of whom shall be Roman Catholics;"

BE IT RESOLVED, that the words, "two of whom shall be Roman Catholics," should be deleted from the Act. R.S.S. 1920. C.110. Sec.9.

WHEREAS Section 30, Clause 2, reads, "Each person nominated for trustees shall be able to read and write;"

BE IT RESOLVED, that the words "in the English language" should be added to said clause.

WHEREAS there is much dissatisfaction with the present School System of Saskatchewan; and

WHEREAS schools are for the education of the young and for the building up of our national unity;

BE IT RESOLVED, that this Klonvokation goes on record as being opposed to the continuation of Separate Schools in a province like Saskatchewan where so many glaring irregularities are becoming more and more evident; and further,

BE IT RESOLVED, that we demand the elimination from the School Act of Section 39 to 44 inclusive, and that all schools be entirely non-sectarian.

That we recommend that Section 5, School Grants Act relating to schools operating according to law or not, be repealed;

That we recommend that the words "if required" be deleted from sub-section 6 of S.198, reading; "To send monthly to the parents or guardians of each pupil, if required by the board, a report of the pupil's attendance conduct and progress."

¹The Klansman, pp. 12-14.

WHEREAS our organization believes in the Constitutional principles of unqualified loyalty to the British Empire and Canada's present status as an integral part of same, the King as our sovereign, and that all natural resources belong as of right to the peoples of such provinces respectively;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the members of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in Klonvokation assembled, affirm our stand of maintaining Canada's present relationship to the Empire under the British North America Act, loyalty to our Sovereign, the Union Jack as our only national flag, "God Save The King" the only national anthem, and the immediate transference, unencumbered of the natural resources to the provinces respectively for the exclusive control of the people.

WHEREAS knowing that there are attempts being made to change the flag of this country, which are not to the best interests of Canada. We do therefore object most strongly against any change, as the Union Jack has for centuries signified freedom and liberty; and

WHEREAS we protest to there being any attempt made to separate Canada from the British Empire, as we believe that the future of Canada depends upon a solid connection between Canada and the British Empire;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in Klonvokation assembled, place ourselves on record as being opposed to any such action.

WHEREAS in view of the presence of so many different religious denominations in this the Dominion of Canada, that it is not in the interests of religious liberty, nor the welfare of the nation as a whole to specially recognize any ecclesiastical preference;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this Klonvokation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, held in the City of Saskatoon, January 10th & 11th, 1929, emphatically protest;

1. Against the preference shown by our Federal Officials on public occasions to the Apostolic Delegate of the Pope, who is sent out from Rome every four years and which delegate has never yet been a British subject.
2. We further protest against this titular representative of the Church of Rome being toasted at so-called public gatherings of Canadian citizens prior to the toast to our Sovereign Lord His Most Gracious Majesty, the King, or his lawful successors.

3. And furthermore we protest against the promiscuous issuing of railway passes to Roman Catholic priests and other church officials, which is contrary to the Railway Act of Canada.
4. And further we protest against the Pope, who is not a British subject, being permitted to bestow titles or other secular honors upon citizens in the Dominion of Canada, more especially as His Most Gracious Majesty the King, or his successors are not extended the same privilege.

WHEREAS in view of the statement contained in the self-styled Holiness the Pope's recent encyclical in which he said "What a glorious and magnificent Catholic country is Canada," and the boast of the Roman Catholics that they would make French the official language of Canada, linked with the boast was the statement that our railroad tickets, all Post Office material, currency and coinage would soon be printed in the French language, and in view of the fact that the Government authorities at Ottawa have already made French the principle language on Post Office material and English is the subordinate language thereon, and in view of the fact that recent railroad tickets bear the French language, we feel that the boast of the Roman Catholics is materializing. As further evidence we have the announcement of a meeting held recently in which the Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan, at the request of Hon. Mr. Prefontaine of Manitoba, and others, decided to have the World's Grain Show material printed in French as well as in English;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, while not objecting to the private use of the language of the mother tongue of any individual, reaffirm our opposition to the extension of bilingualism in the Dominion of Canada, outside the Province of Quebec; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we voice our protest against the French language being forced upon us and those people who come to Canada from other lands, and that we use every lawful means to do our part in enforcing the use of the English language and thereby help keep Canada British.

APPENDIX III

MOVERS OF RESOLUTIONS AT THE SECOND ANNUAL KLVOKATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, SASKATOON, JANUARY 10-11, 1929 ¹

Bailey, W. H. N.	Battleford
Blair, J. C. H.	Southy
Duke, J. R.	Findlater
McLean, J.	Alsask
Foster, H. P.	
Cross, W. H.	Yorkton
Ewen, W. B.	Govan
Smallwood, G. R.	Kinistino
Edwards, Capt. C.	Prince Albert
Ivay, P. S. J.	Moose Jaw
Robinson, Mrs. Ellen	Moose Jaw
Cashey, Mrs. C. C.	Hanley
Neville, Miss Gladys, M.A.	Star City
Buchanan, J. R. H.	Saskatoon
Surman, Rev. W.	Regina
Morrison, A. L.	Prince Albert
Wood, D. T.	Penzance
Draayer, Geo.	Milestone
Greenfield, W. G.	Moose Jaw
Hill, Rev. J. E.	Regina
Shettuck, G. G.	Mossbank
West, G. E.	Biggar
Henn, Rev. L. B.	McRorie
Burphy, C. W.	Lanigan
Louchs, W. R.	Delisle
Kenworthy, Geo.	Qu'Appelle
Jenkins, Rev. J. W.	Asquith
Harrison, R. F.	Ft. Qu'Appelle
Tedd, D. Y.	Penzance
Noble, H.	Indian Head
Honeyman	Shaunavon
Stewart, M. C.	Perdue
Richardson, J.	Moose Jaw
Knight, J. G.	Radville
Neil, S.	Milden
Gardner, A.	The Pas

¹From the files of the Department of Public Works,
Saskatchewan Archives.

Rosborough, J. W.
Anderson, E. E.
Cowan, Dr. W. D.
Ellis, Chas. H.
Rondeau, Rev. S. P.
McKnight, Rev. J.
Hind, T. J. Rev.
Denis, S. J.
Coates, W. C.
Rowan, A. E.
McConnell, C. A.
Bell, W. C.
Rudy, N. A.
Turner, W. H.
Wallace, G. L.
Yours, H.
Sayles, G. G.

Regina

Regina

Regina

Woodrow

Moose Jaw

Saskatoon

Gibbs

Melfort

Regina

Outlook

Regina

Nokomis

Elrose

Weyburn

APPENDIX IV

SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF KLAN ORGANIZERS AND LECTURERS FOR THE PERIOD ¹ OCTOBER 26, 1927, TO DECEMBER 31, 1928

Chas. H. Puckering	\$3,722.80
D. H. C. Wright	3,970.55
W. H. Acres	2,209.00
Vic Arnold	1,674.55
J. W. Hawkins	4,670.04
R. C. Snelgrove	3,786.36
A. J. Balfour	2,038.30
J. A. Balfour	849.15
W. P. Armstrong	736.30
W. D. Walker	834.05
Rev. T. J. Hind	232.00
Rev. S. P. Rondeau	54.50
Rev. W. Surman	10.00
F. J. Ivay	27.50
J. Richardson	394.55
Rev. T. Bunting (Inc. \$50 advance)	191.48
Rev. R. C. Simpson	19.20
L. McIsted	5.20
G. H. Westwood	613.20
G. E. Core	2,366.68
T. H. Pakenham	1,780.35
Dave Parker	905.30
E. L. Elliott	698.15
D. C. Grant	1,696.38
	<u>\$33,385.99</u>

¹From the files of the Department of Public Works,
Saskatchewan Archives.

APPENDIX V

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD ANNUAL KLONVOKATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, REGINA, JANUARY, 1930¹

Whereas, the Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan in his official capacity as minister of education has issued instructions that religious teaching in the schools shall be in the English language only, and that sectarian influences such as religious garbs and emblems will be removed from the public schools of the province, and that the School Act and all regulations issued by the department will be strictly adhered to

Therefore be it resolved, that this convention go on record as being in hearty accord with same and congratulate the Premier on his stand in this connection; and further that this convention call upon the premier of Saskatchewan as minister of education to see that this province receives, apart from the Natural Resources, full and unrestricted control of our school system, and that the School Lands Endowment Fund be placed under entire provincial law and control.

Whereas the French language has no status outside of the House of Parliament, the Supreme Court of Canada and the province of Quebec; and

Whereas the Postmaster General, the Minister of National Defence, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the Minister of National Revenue, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Railways and Canals, are giving the French language equal status with the English language on forms and requirements issued by their respective departments;

Therefore be it resolved, that this convention go on record as protesting strenuously against the violation of the British North America Act.

Whereas the iniquitous railways agreement has been dumping into Canada for the last three years thousands of Central Europeans, creating an unemployment situation which has no parallel in the history of Canada;

¹Regina Leader, Jan. 18, 1930.

Therefore be it resolved, that this convention is of the opinion that the Immigration department of the Dominion government should inaugurate a quota system; and

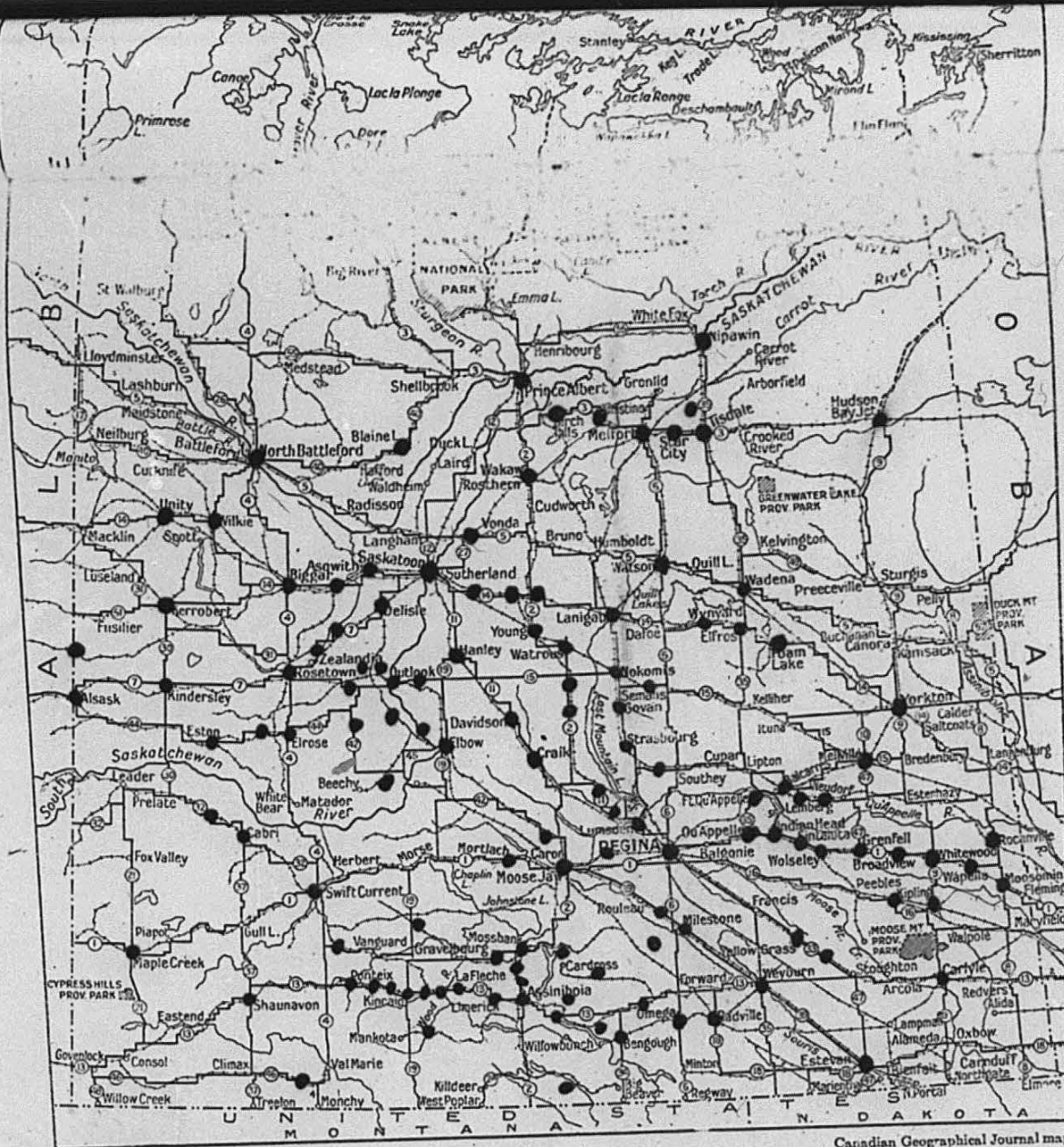
Whereas the government of Canada has apparently made agreements with the railways, according to press reports of January 7th, 1930 to allow a large portion of some 3,000 Mennonites who seek admission to the Dominion, to enter even after the protest made on behalf of the people of Saskatchewan by their representatives on the ground that there is a serious unemployment problem on their hands, and also that relations with members of this group have not been satisfactory in the past; and because we believe that the Government of Saskatchewan has the right to control immigration into this province;

Therefore be it resolved, that we view with alarm the report that the Dominion government has now officially made these further agreements, and that we protest in the strongest possible manner to the proper authorities at Ottawa, and that we approve of the stand taken by the Co-operative Government of Saskatchewan on this question.

Whereas the song "O Canada" was written specifically for a religious festival of the province of Quebec; and whereas "O Canada" is in many places supplanting our national anthem, "God save the King."

Therefore be it resolved, that this convention go on record as being opposed to such substitution, and that in all meetings of the convention or individual Klans where it is found that a patriotic air is required that "The Maple Leaf Forever" be sung, but in no case shall any patriotic air be substituted for the national anthem, and further, that attention be seriously paid to the versions of "O Canada," one of which is definitely sectarian.

APPENDIX VI
LOCAL KLANS
IN
SASKATCHEWAN



Note:—Highway numbers are shown in circles.

Canadian Geographical Journal map

SASKATCHEWAN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Without the private papers of the Rt. Hon. J. G. Gardiner this study could not have been completed. These papers contain membership lists for sixty-one local Klans, the names of officers of one-hundred and nine locals, extensive clippings from small weekly newspapers which voiced an opinion on the organization in Saskatchewan, copies of personal correspondence between Klan organizers in Canada and the United States, transcripts of trials involving Klansmen in Saskatchewan and Ontario, and Klan literature. The collection also includes significant correspondence between Premier Gardiner and Saskatchewan residents who were either concerned with or involved in the Klan.

Other private papers were consulted. The Bennett Papers contain numerous references to the Klan in Canada, most of them relating to Saskatchewan and the Conservative party. These papers provided behind-the-scene accounts of the Klan and Saskatchewan politics in 1928 and 1929. The King Papers, while not as helpful as the Bennett Papers for this study as most information referred to other parts of Canada, gave an insight into the Liberal reaction to the Klan and included correspondence between King and Gardiner. Similarly, the Meighen Papers were not as productive as the

Bennett Papers as most of the material on the K.K.K. consists of circular letters from the Vancouver Klan. The Meighen Papers contain, however, references to Conservative M.P.'s and Cabinet Ministers who were allegedly Klansmen. References to the McTaggart Papers and Turgeon Papers were made incidentally to the main theme of the thesis.

Records of Churches and other organizations in Saskatchewan were consulted primarily for the purpose of identifying Klan members and of finding opinions expressed on the Klan. Since expressions on the order were minimal, the most beneficial information these records yielded was some biographical data on Klansmen. Most of the major Churches published the minutes of their provincial conventions and were quite easily obtained. The minutes of the provincial conventions of the Orangemen were also published but were obtained with difficulty as the provincial Grand Master believed the information contained in them was confidential. On the whole, the time spent on researching these records was worthwhile for this study.

Newspapers were also an important source of material on the Klan in Saskatchewan, and almost the exclusive source for other provinces. In this regard, the Gardiner Papers were invaluable in that they contain clipping files on the small rural newspapers and larger city dailies in Saskatchewan. Newspaper reports were most helpful in the attempt to recapture the original atmosphere of Klan rallies and in

helping to identify Klan members and sympathizers. The most productive periodical for this study was the Orange Sentinel, which commented quite extensively on the Klan throughout the 1920's. The Klansman and The Western Freedman were useful as examples of Klan literature, and limited reference was made to other periodicals.

Personal interviews yielded relatively little information and were hardly worth the time involved. Former Klan members were reluctant to discuss their affiliation with the order, and those who spoke freely of their association most of the time did not impart much that could not have been found in newspapers or other sources in less time.

Only a few books touch on the Klan in Saskatchewan and that very briefly. J. J. Maloney makes some superficial references to it in his books, Rome In Canada and Darkness, Dawn and Daybreak. In his book, Regina: The Queen City, E. G. Drake discusses in a page or so the entrance of the Klan and its activity in Regina. Robert Moon gives a few pages to the activities of the Klansmen, especially Emmons at Moose Jaw, in This Is Saskatchewan. The most recent book that pauses briefly to mention the Klan, and probably the most accurate, is Christopher Higginbotham's Off The Record: The C.C.F. In Saskatchewan. Other books mention the activity of the order in Saskatchewan but give it even less space than those mentioned.

Three articles have been written on the Saskatchewan Klan: one in 1928 by An Observer, "The Ku Klux Klan In Sask-

atchewan," Queen's Quarterly; and two in 1965 by Jeannine Locke in the Canadian Weekly, "When the Ku Klux Klan rode in Saskatchewan," and Patricia Clarke, "How the Klan came to Canada," in The United Church Observer. The first one is significant in that it is a firsthand report of the Klan's impact on Saskatchewan; the last one is enlightening because it gives the impressions of a few clergymen who ministered in areas where the order was active. The article by Jeannine Locke was based on the Gardiner Papers and, therefore, offered no further information for this study.

Among the secondary sources, theses and dissertations were the most helpful. Kyba's thesis on "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929" and Unger's on "James G. Gardiner: The Premier As A Pragmatic Politician, 1925-1929" were most helpful in placing the Klan in political perspective in Saskatchewan. These studies enabled the author to concentrate more particularly on the Klan's involvement with the political parties and to document the actual contribution of the order to the Liberal defeat of 1929. Other studies on the Klan in the United States, such as "The Ku Klux Klan In Indiana, 1920-1930: An Historical Study" by J. A. Davis and "The Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana, 1920-1930" by K. E. Harrell, were beneficial for purposes of comparison. Finally, the more general works on the Ku Klux Klan in the United States -- Mecklin's The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the

American Mind, Alexander's The Ku Klux Klan in the South-
west, Chalmers' Hooded Americanism, and Jackson's The Ku
Klux Klan In The City 1915-1930 -- all served the useful
function of filling in the background of the Klan in
Saskatchewan.

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